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NEW VENETIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM ESTE

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IN A recent number of *Notizie degli Scavi* ([6th ser.], Vol. IX, fasc. 4-6 [1933], received in this country in January, 1934) there are published over sixty inscriptions (*graffiti*) on cinerary vases discovered in December, 1928, in the garden of the Casa di Ricovero at Este. Of these no fewer than eleven are Venetic both in script and in language; and of the rest, all Latin, a large number contain names and forms of considerable interest for the study of the pre-Latin dialects of North Italy. Of the eleven Venetic inscriptions only one was known to Conway, who included it in Part I of the *Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy*, where it is numbered 136a. It now appears also in *N.d.Sc.* ([1933], pp. 123 f., No. 2), inaccurately and incompletely transcribed. Most of the other texts published there are given only in "facsimile," and the transcriptions of the others (even those in Latin) are not always accurate. It seems worth while, therefore, to attempt here some transcription and interpretation of the new Venetic texts. There is added a selection from the new Latin texts; but only those Latin inscriptions which throw light on Venetic or North Italic remains (whether new or old) are repeated here.¹

¹ In this first supplement to the *Prae-Italic Dialects* (hereafter referred to as *PID*) I would also ask the reader to note the following:

196 bis: A Raetic (?) inscription, given without any detailed account, but said to have been found "near Bolzano," and read doubtfully as *ossuoie* (?), right to left (see *Stud. Etr.*, VI, 480).

494: Ribezzo (*CIM*, 129) would read *toras θo* for my *iklo* at the end of l. 1, and con-

The newly reported vases and their inscriptions are very similar in their general character to those published in *PID*, Nos. 129-39 (I, 107 ff.) and Note ia (*ibid.*, p. 117). They clearly belong to a transitional period when the Venetic dialect and alphabet were dying out before the advance of Latin. There is some uncertainty in the use of the Venetic symbols if not of Venetic forms; on the other hand, the forms of the letters in the Latin inscriptions show the influence of some of the native letters, just as many of the names themselves in the same inscriptions are non-Latin and often purely Venetic. Some of the Venetic inscriptions have forms, which, if not abbreviated, at least are not standard Venetic; these, too, indicate a period when Venetic was no longer perfectly used. A probable dating for the Latin texts is *ca.* 150 B.C. or somewhat later. The Venetic inscriptions, however, while certainly older, cannot be dated within very narrow limits, inasmuch as a number of different tombs are represented, perhaps ranging over a century in date. But it is to be noted that a bronze fibula of Certosa type was found with the earthenware fragments now rescued from what was at any rate not their first burial.

For the precise spot at which the discovery was made is but 14.50 meters from the boundary line of the Villa Benvenuti where the other cinerary vases of Este were found (*PID*, I, 107). It appears that the sepulchral remains unearthed in 1928 had been disturbed some time ago, probably during building operations, and reinterred. They have now been deposited in the Museo Atestino at Este, where long labor has been devoted to their restoration, most of them having been shattered by the unkind fate of their previous discovery and subsequent reburial. In all, some two hundred and fifty objects were found, heaped together within a space 6 meters long, 1 meter wide, and 0.50 meter deep.

tinue (one word with *θo*) *rinnihi* (for my *hʹninnihi*) in l. 2, but his photograph affords little warrant for this (in itself attractive) reading.

Add 508 *bis*: (Ribezzo 127), a new inscription from Rugge:

dʹazima divatoaihi

right to left, two names nominative singular feminine and genitive singular masculine (?) respectively, with an unparalleled termination *-oaihi*. Ribezzo (*more suo*) fails to say whether there is any word-division in the original.

The alleged new "Sican" inscription (*Riv. I.G.I.*, XVII [1933], 197 ff.) appears to me dubious.

PID, No. 136a (= *N.d.Sc.* [1933], p. 123, No. 2), left to right: I have nothing to add to Conway's account, except to say (1) that in the original there is no separation between the two words of the text; and (2) that for the Venetic symbol \mathfrak{h} , usually transcribed *h*, the transcription $\cdot i$ is in many instances, purely on epigraphical evidence, possible and sometimes even more probable. Hence I look more kindly than Conway did on Sommer's view (*Idg. Forsch.*, XLII [1924], 90 ff.) that morphologically the terminations $\cdot a \cdot i$, $\cdot o \cdot i$, $\cdot e \cdot i$ (gen. or dat. sing. of nouns and adjectives) are more intelligible than $\cdot ah$, $\cdot oh$, $\cdot eh$, which was Pauli's transcription and Conway's. Conway's theory of the accentual value of the medial puncts in Venetic inscriptions, which the readers of this article will have before them, must be taken into careful consideration in any re-examination of the value of the Venetic \mathfrak{h} , and this I must postpone for subsequent discussion. Accordingly, in what follows, I have, for the sake of consistency, retained the old transcription of \mathfrak{h} as *h*, though I am far from convinced that that transcription is everywhere correct. As I now see it, the most important and perhaps the most difficult part of the problem will be to distinguish the places in which \mathfrak{h} has the value *h* (e.g., clearly in the perigram \mathfrak{vh} = Lat. *f*) from those in which it has the value $\cdot i$ (e.g., probably in the terminations noted above, and perhaps also in some other places).

The following new Venetic inscriptions should be added in *PID*, I, 115 (to follow No. 136).

136 bis, i-x: References are added in parentheses to the numeration of the inscriptions by Callegari (*loc. cit.*).

i (Callegari 3): On a vase of gray earthenware, of an elongated spherical shape, with a thick lip and a low foot. The inscription stands beneath the third of three wheel-signs set in a row, and reads, right to left, in the regular Venetic alphabet, in letters 15 millimeters high,

va · n · t · s · a · vhroh ·

Noteworthy are the five-stroke *s*, which is "reversed" in position (i.e., has its upper angle opening toward the preceding letters [see *PID*, I, 24]), the characteristically Venetic lozenge-shaped *o* (here five-sided), and the final (?) punct following the last letter *h* (read $\cdot i \cdot$?). A five-

stroke *s* occurs in Greek alphabets, especially in Laconian (see Roberts, *Gr. Epigr.*, I, 269), but this is, I think, the first example recorded in any Sub-Alpine ("North Etruscan") alphabet. The name *va·nt·s* (nom. sing. masc.) is already familiar (*PID*, Nos. 2, 99). In *·avhroh* we have a name (gen. sing. masc.) with *vh* = Lat. *f*, that is "Afri" (cf. *ibid.*, Index VI). The double punct between *s* and *a* is to be divided between those two letters; it is not a word-separator.

ii (4): Engraved diagonally on a gray-ware vase with lip *a toro*; Venetic alphabet, right to left.

1. m.toreh[h]van·tioh

In the facsimile published in *N.d.Sc.* the third letter appears as an incomplete *m*, lacking the fourth stroke; but it is no doubt *m*, not *n* (cf. *PID*, No. 22, *nexo* for *mexo*). Callegari reports that the second and third letters are so faintly engraved as to have been all but illegible, and that the sixth letter from the end (*a*, not *v*)² is incomplete owing to the loss of a small piece of the vase itself. He indicates clearly space for two letters, one before and one after *m*. And at the end of the first word, after *-eh*, the engraver has repeated erroneously | (i.e., a second *h* without its second punct). But there can be no doubt about the reading *lemetoreh* (cf. *lemetoreh* in *PID*, No. 6). In *van·tioh* I have taken a long stroke after *·t* as *i*, not as the second punct with *·t*; for the genitive singular of *va·nt·s* is *va·nteh* (*ibid.*, No. 129), and *-oh* is the genitive singular ending of *o*-stems (cf. *ve·i·χnoh*). Here, then, we have the genitive singular masculine of a stem in *-io-*, like *a·kuti·oh* (cf. *ibid.*, I, 186 f.), a derivative of the consonant stem *va·nt·s*. If *van·tioh* be read, it will be difficult not only to explain *-oh* beside *-eh*, but also to find parallel forms in *-toh* (*v|hrem·astoh* No. 121, *musθoh* No. 149a). As for the single accentual punct, many other examples may be found in Conway's lists (I, 194, § 42). It seems clear from this new inscription that *lemetoreh* should be regarded as a personal name, not (*pace* Conway) as a divine name. The derivative *lemeto·r·na* occurs in No. 26, *lemeθo·r·na* in No. 33, as a woman's name (or epithet?). Thus we have two names, both genitive singular

² For the common confusion of *a* and *v* in the Venetic alphabet see *PID*, Nos. 6a, 17, 24, 27.

masculine, the second a gentile name (-*io*-), perhaps patronymic in origin.

iii (1): On a situla-shaped vase of yellow earthenware, tinted with black, engraved in letters 30 millimeters high, Venetic alphabet, right to left, high up and just beneath the shoulder of the vase,

·u·koe·n·nons

The reading is everywhere certain. The division between words is also certain. For we already know *enoni* in *PID*, No. 157, the cognomen *Enno* among Venetic names (*ibid.*, Part II, No. VIIIC, from *CIL*, Vol. V, No. 1924), the same name (or a derivative of it) in No. iv below, and in two of the new Latin *graffiti* of Casa di Ricovero (also discussed below). With *·u·ko* it is more difficult to deal, and this word I incline to regard as possibly abbreviated; in Venetic we have a rather doubtful *·u·kata* (*PID*, No. 135), and an even more doubtful *okatah* (No. 117). Much closer in form to *·u·ko* is the genitive singular masculine *Veconis* from S. Leonhard, Oberlavant (*CIL*, III, 5084), and S. Dionysen an der Mur (*ibid.*, 5463); cf. *Vccia* in the Tabula Veleiatium (*PID*, Part II, No. XVII ii, iii). In *·u·ko* and *e·n·nons* I see two proper names, both nominative singular masculine (cf. Ven. *·a·t·to*, *e·r·m·o·n*, *kavarons*).

iv (5): A glossy ovoidal vase of gray-ware, with rounded lip and flat foot, containing bones and a scallop shell (*pecten*) when discovered. Beneath the shoulder, in letters 30 millimeters high, in the Venetic alphabet, but written left to right, the inscription

molot·e·n·nonio

with five-stroke *m*, the first *o* long-tailed, and the final *o* (lozenge-shaped) sprawling out to touch the preceding *i*. But the reading, if Callegari's facsimile may be trusted, is everywhere certain. Nor is the interpretation difficult. In *e·n·nonio* manifestly we have a derivative name, nominative singular masculine, from *e·n·nons* (iii), a gentile name in -*io*-, but lacking the final -*s* of the nominative singular, like a few other forms (e.g., *se·χ·tio*, No. vii below; cf. *PID*, I, 190; II, 132 f.). But *molot* appears to be more severely curtailed; cf. Venetic *mol-tonioh* (gen. sing. masc., No. 124), beside which it per-

haps also shows anaptyxis.³ Other Venetic and Messapic names in *mol-* (see *ibid.*, III, 31) are less easily compared.

v (7): In the lettering of this inscription the chief peculiarity is that three of the letters are upside down;⁴ thus the fourth (V, like the Lat. *u*, instead of the Venet. \wedge), the fifth and the ninth are all inverted. There is a striking difference too between the second and twelfth letters, which are $||| = h$, and the fifteenth letter, which is $| \cdot |$ (*h* according to Conway, *i* according to Sommer, the latter perhaps rightly).

Lightly engraved on a vase of red ware, with bright-red paint, above a decorative belt of dots arranged in a serpentine design (cf. *PID*, I, 69). When discovered the vase contained bones. Venetic alphabet, right to left,

who·u·χotaχrahkōhy·e·ske·š·

The only letter that is doubtful is the sixth from the end; instead of *v* we might, but with much less probability, read *l* or *p*. More than one division of words seems possible, and it is difficult to feel quite certain which is right. Simplest would be *who·u·χota χrahkōh v·e·ske·š·* (nom. sing. fem., followed by two forms both gen. sing. masc.). In *who·u·χota* we should have a name of a new formation (but cf. *·u·kata* above) from a well-attested base; compare Venetic *who·u·χo·n·teh* and the many other names in *who·u·χ*—given in the Glossary (Vol. III) of *PID*, and appearing also in Latin spelling in names such as *Fougonia*, *Fugenia*, *Fugantius* (*ibid.*, Indexes V and VI; cf. I, 23, 52). Indeed, I incline to identify *who·u·χota* with the *whoχonta* of the inscription *PID*, No. 32, supposing a loss of *-n-* before *-t-*; cf. Venet. *kata:kanta*.⁵ But it may well be that *who·u·χ* is an abbreviation, and also the following *otaχ*, to which *Otacilius* (*Ital. Dial.*, 578) would appear to be the nearest parallel name, though the comparison seems to me an unlikely one. Next *χrahkōh*, which I compare with Venetic *kra·e·hk* (*PID*, No. 162a, abbreviated; cf. *Craeria* from

³ Cf. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XLIV (1933), 112 f.

⁴ On this peculiarity elsewhere see *PID*, I, 50 ff.; II, 513, 541.

⁵ See also *Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol.*, XLIV (1933), 128.

Brescia, *ibid.*, Part II, No. XI B, and note especially my remarks in the Glossary *ibid.*, s.v. "graias"; cf. II, 261, on *Alpes Graiae*). The alternation of Venet. χ (= Lat. *g*) and *k* would present no difficulty whatever (*PID*, II, 508 f.; cf. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XLII [1931], 150 ff.); more difficult would be *a:ai* or *ae*, unless we assume a change of *ai* to *ā* in Venetic, a change otherwise unattested in that dialect so far as I know. But if χ belongs to the preceding *ota*, we are left with *rahkoh*; cf. Venet. *rakoh* (*PID*, No. 141), *rako-s* (No. 184?), if not Messapic (?) *Ῥαικός* (*ibid.*, II, 429, 473), *Rai-us* (Venet., Part II, No. VII B), *Raeti*, *Raetia*. There remains *ve-skeš*; cf. Venet. *vesoš*, East Ital. *vesiš* (see *PID*, Glossary, s.vv.), and still better the gentile names *Vesicius*, *Vesuccius* (Part II, Nos. VII C, XV C; cf. II, 163).⁶ The ending *-eš* has so far no exact parallel; but Conway has listed (I, 189, § 23a) a number of forms in *-es*, some of which must be genitive singular.

vi (9): On the upper fragment of a vase of yellow ware, with decorative bands in brown, beneath one of which is deeply engraved, left to right, in Venetic alphabet, letters 12 millimeters high, but incomplete, owing to the fractured condition of the vase, the inscription,

pesokrum . . . in-s

in which there are several matters of doubt. The first letter may be either *p* or *l*, the forms of which are all but identical (𐌒). In default of comparable words, and none is forthcoming in either *pes-* or *les-*, it is impossible to decide between the two: here *p* is epigraphically perhaps just the more likely. At the end *i* and *n* are both broken beneath, but certain none the less; and of the three missing letters there remains a fragment of the first that might be part of *n* or of *l* or of *p*, but nothing of the third. Should we divide after *k* and compare Venet. *ruma-n-na*? Or after *o* and compare the Lat. *graffiti* with *Crumelon* from the Casa di Ricovero itself (see below, Note *ia bis*, 22, 25, 30)? In either case we seem to have a nominative singular masculine in *-n-s* (cf. *e-n-nons* above). But again in either case what is *pesok* or *peso*?

vii (10): A single word in the Venetic alphabet (letters 18 milli-

⁶ For the possible syncope cf. *ibid.*, pp. 111 ff. The resemblance to Osc. *vezket* is merely superficial. Cf. No. 17 below?

meters high, left to right) on a fragment of the broken neck of a large yellow-colored vase,

se · χ · tio

with a perplexing χ. For if we should compare, as seems natural, the *Sextus*, *Sextius*, *Sestius* common all over Italy and Gaul, indeed wherever Latin was spoken (though the Gaulish *Sextus*, if for **Sezetos*, cf. Ir. *sessed*, W. *chweched*, may be independent), and found in fact at Casa di Ricovero, how are we to explain χ for ks before t? Callegari's remark, "questa iscrizione e utile per il valore del Ψ," if he means that Ψ is not χ but x, is wide of the mark. It is just possible that the engraver wrote Ψ(χ) for s or Ks by a sheer blunder. But the inscription is a good specimen of Venetic writing, and I am loath to make this supposition. It would seem more likely that s was omitted by accident (i.e., read se·χ·stio), for the group -χs- is frequent and regular in Venetic, e.g., *vhaχ·s·θo*, *vhuχ·s·sia*, *voχ·s·sii*, *φoχso·s*, standing apparently for an older -ks-, cf. Lat. *facio*, Venet. *φu·k·ka*, and later becoming -hs- (Venet. *a·hsu·n*, *a·hsu·š*: *āξoves*; cf. *φohio·s*: *φoχso·s*), just as -kt- became -ht- (Venet. *rehtia·h*: *rectus*, *aht·s*: *Actius*?).⁷ But I know no evidence for a Venetic change of -kst- to -kt- or -χt- like the W. -χ- for -ks-,⁸ for -st- would probably be preserved. Hence, unless we assume an error in the writing (-s-'being omitted), I prefer to compare se·χ·tio with *setu-* in Gall. *setupokios* (*PID*, Nos. 335, 337), and with the names *Setus*, *Seitus* cited by Holder (*Altcelt. Sprachschatz*, II, 1459, 1529), and with the Venetic name *Seius* (*ibid.*, Part II, Nos. VII A, VIII C); cf. *Setus* (No. XXIV C) and *Secius* (No. XI C). Names in *Seg-* may also be noted (*PID*, III, Indexes V and VI), though these are more remote.

viii (8): In sprawling letters (25–30 millimeters high), left to right, Venetic alphabet, on the belly of a *vaso campanato* of yellow ware, decorated with red and reddish-brown bands.

ka · ito

The temptation to think of this form as a verb, third person singular middle, with the secondary -to ending (cf. Venet. *zona·s·to*, "don-

⁷ See also *ibid.*, XLII (1931), 151; XLIV (1933), 117.

⁸ Pedersen, *Vergl. Gram.*, I, 78; cf. 218.

ait''), is strong; cf. Gk. *ἔκειτο, κέϊτο*, but probably it should be resisted. Not only would the vocalism (*a·i* for *ei*) be irregular; but, since the vase on which this single word stands is complete, it is far more likely that we have to do with a name, nominative singular masculine (cf. *a·t·to*), that is of the person whose bones were deposited in the vase. Compare, then, the Venetic gentilicia and cognomina *Caius* (which is not for *Gaius*), *Caia*, *Caianta*, *Cainenis* (see *PID*, Indexes V and VI), and perhaps the Gaul. *Καιτόβριξ, Cetobriga* (Holder, I, 1002).

ix (6): The single letter

t

on a vase of dark-gray ware is worthy of record, if only as the favorite symbol of the goddess Rehtia (*PID*, I, 92), worshiped at Ateste, though it may be, as Callegari conjectures, merely a trade-mark.

x (11): Finally, we have a fragmentary inscription, only four letters, but showing the characteristic termination *-oh* or *-o·i* (gen. sing. masc.), written right to left, in Venetic alphabet,

jiloh

in which the symbol here transcribed as *l* may possibly be *p* (hardly *u*?). Probably not more than six or eight letters have been lost before *i*; cf. the feminine singular *kolivhiila* (*PID*, No. 15) and the numerous Lepontic names in *-a-lo-* e.g., *piuotialui* (dat. sing. masc.).

PID, I, 117.

Note ia bis: Vases or fragments of vases with Latin inscriptions (see p. 281 above). Often *e* is ||, *f* is |¹, *l* is κ.

1 (12a): One of two Latin inscriptions, left to right, beneath the lip of a vase,

·na·adria·uol·f

In the second word an apparent *i* before *d* is probably illusory, nothing more than the upright of *d* scratched twice. At least I know no Venetic

parallel for *aid-*; but cf. Lepontic (?) *ai.ro* (*PID*, No. 277). As for *uol*, cf. the numerous Venetic names beginning *vo-l-t-* (*ibid.*, Glossary).

2 (19): On an ossuary, actually containing bones,

nircae·rutiliae·p·f

Cf. Venet. *ne-r-ka*, *nei-r-ka* (*ibid.*, Nos. 26, 34, 112) and *nerca* below (No. 19), *ibid.*, I, 117; for *i* from *e* before *r* followed by a consonant see my article in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XLIV (1933), 108 ff. (esp. *Stircorius*, *Tirentianus*, *Abirius*, *circius*).

3 (23): On a globular vase "of Arretine pattern,"

l·rutilio·pusi[on]i

Cf. East Ital. *pušo* (*PID*, No. 350.2), Lat. *pusionis* (No. 315, and *Pusio* (*CIL*, V, 4457).

4 (27): *l·ennius·p·f fougo*

Cf. Venet. *·ho·u·xo·n·tioh* (*PID*, No. 129, and p. 286 above).

5 (28): *p·henius·c·l*

The name *henius* is at least noteworthy, whether or not it is a variant spelling of the *Ennius* common in Venetic territory; cf. *Enius* (Calle-gari, No. 31).

6 (30): *t·enni t f urclesoni* (no interpuncts)

Cf. Venet. *·ur·kli*, *·ur·klehna*.

7 (32): *uanti·enonioti (?)·f*

Cf. Venet. *va·n·t·s*, *va·n·teh* or *va·n·te·i* (the latter being presumably the Venetic equivalent of *uanti* in Latin), and *enoni*. (See pp. 284, 285 above.)

8 (33): *creteila·m·ennio·grai·ci·f*

Cf. Messap. *kretaihi* (*PID*, No. 493); and for *grai·ci* see page 287 above.

9 (34): *uanti·ennius·pusionis·f*

10 (36): *lemonei·ennonioi*

Cf. Venet. *lemetoreh* (p. 284 above), Ligur. *lemo-* (*PID*, II, 164, 590).

11 (37): *canta upsedia*

12 (38): *moltisa | canta paphia c i uzor*

Cf. Venet. *ka-n-ta* (PID, Nos. 21, 22, 130), *mo-l-tonioh* (*ibid.*, No. 124).

13 (39): *canta loxina*

14 (40): *iuantia* | *carponia*

Cf. Venet. *iiwa-n-tšah*, *iiwa-n-tioh*.

15 (41): *iuanta soccina pusioni-ma*

16 (42): *iuantina tiraglonia*

17 (43): *frema- iuantina- kiulistoiesces* (?)

For *frema* cf. the cognomen *Fremmo* in *CIL*, V, 2273 (Maiorbo), *Fremantio* in *ibid.*, 2906, 2974 (Padua), Venet. *vhrema* (PID, Nos. 6a, 136c), *vhremah-s* (*ibid.*, No. 144), *vhren-mo* (No. 153), *vhremah-stna* (Nos. 19, 25, 131; cf. No. 121?). At the end apparently we have a cognome *Vesce(n)s*, to which I can cite no parallel in North Italy; and immediately before it a division after *k* would give us a familiar *iul-* as a name stem. But compare No. v above?

18 (44): *nanieiai-fr-emaiseni . . ntai* (??)

The punct after *fr* may be erroneous; if so, perhaps we should divide *fremai seni . . nait*. Or the first stroke of the letter here transcribed *e* (|) in *sen-* may be a mis-writing for *T*,⁹ i.e., *fremaistini . .* (whence read Venet. *vhrema-i-stna*, not *vhremah-*). Similarly, though less probably, a reading *iuanteiai* (for *nanieiai*) at the beginning is barely possible, with | = *iu*, not *n*.

19 (45): *nerca-uanticonis-f*

20 (46): *fo[ugon]iai ostinai* | *fougoniai iotioniai*

In line 1 the original has a punct after *t*, and no division before *ost-*; but cf. Venet. *o-stioh* (PID, No. 125), *o-st-s* (No. 152), *o-stiareh* (No. 165).

21 (47): *fougontai fugisoniai . . igdinai-ego*

This inscription is especially interesting as showing exactly the same construction and word-order that we find in a number of Venetic inscriptions (PID, Nos. 129, 131, 136d, 142). I cannot be sure what was the letter (*m*) or letters (*e* or *fr*?) before *-ig-* in the third word. Neither to *migd-* nor to *frigd-* does there seem to be any North Italic parallel; I am tempted rather to think that the missing piece of the vase probably had an interpunct somewhere at this point, and to recall the tribal name *Egdini* or *Ecdini* (*CIL*, V, 7231; cf. 7817).

⁹ For | (instead of the more usual X) = *t* see PID, II, 44, 54.

22 (48): *iusta crumelonia*

23 (49): *konia of orsua* (?)

24 (50): *ua sino* (?)

Cf. Venet. *vas seno* (PID, No. 136).

25 (51): *tertia crumelonia turstia*

In the gentilicium *-el-* is mis-written *-ee-*.

26 (53): *aemilia [stla] purn uxor*

27 (54): *sex slapurnae*

For the initial *stl-* cf. *Stlaccia*, *Stlania*, Lepont. *slaniai* (see *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XLIV [1933], 115).

28 (55): *e]getorei crumel[*

Cf. Venet. *e xetor*, *e xetorii oh*, *exetoreh* (PID, Nos. 31, 114, 136d), and *Egtorei* (?) (gen. sing. masc.) (CIL, V, 2780, from Ateste; see Pauli, *Veneter*, p. 307, where Mommsen read *Fecitorei*).

29 (58): *api . . . air emeto[n]iai* (??)

30 (59): *t crmel* (?)

31 (63): *frem*

Cf. No. 17 above.

32 (64): *jos*

Cf. PID, No. 136f (I, p. 116).

It is perhaps hardly necessary to make the suggestion that any owner of the *Præ-Italic Dialects of Italy* would do well to add these new items in his copy, and to enter the new Venetic forms in the Glossary (Vol. III). It was an unfortunate delay that deprived Conway of them.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

PLINY AND THE EARLY CHURCH SERVICE: FRESH LIGHT FROM AN OLD SOURCE

BY CASPER J. KRAEMER, JR.

PLINY'S letter to Trajan about the Christians (x. 98) has been so long a focus of scholarly attention that it would seem impossible to say anything new about it. And yet there are several minor but interesting details (one of them apparently obvious) which I believe have not so far been noted by either classical or biblical scholars. In x. 96. 9 the familiar text reads:

Adfirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam vel culpaе suae vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem, seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent: quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium.

They insisted that the sum total of their misdeeds—perhaps I should say misunderstanding—was the following. They usually met on a fixed day, before dawn; recited antiphonally a poem to Christ (addressed as a divinity); and took an oath, not for any criminal purpose, but against theft, brigandage, adultery, fraud and failure to return loans. After this they usually went away, to meet again later for an ordinary, harmless meal.

I

Interpretations of this passage in annotated editions of Pliny are fewer than one would believe possible, and center about the word *sacramento*. The opposing viewpoints may be stated by quotation. Merrill¹ takes the word

perhaps only in the sense of *oath*. Pliny supposed of course that the members of so commanding an association were as usual bound together by some such obligation, and ascertained from the backsliders that such was the fact—they, however, referring to general obligations and teachings of morality under their profession, and he to a specific oath, like the military oath. . . . But although true Christians might suppress all reference to the sacred Eucharist in the presence of an unbeliever, these witnesses may have had no such scruple, and there is therefore the possibility that as early as this the Latin-

¹ *Selected Letters of the Younger Pliny* (Macmillan, 1919), p. 440.

speaking² Christians were using the word *sacramentum* for the sacrament that bound them into one brotherhood in Christ, and that Pliny simply failed to comprehend the familiar term in its strange meaning.

Nock sums up the opposing viewpoint:

Scholars have frequently been tempted to regard *sacramento* as a misunderstanding by Pliny of a Christian reference to the Eucharist. This is unnecessary: the Eucharist is probably indicated by *cibum*, and the *sacramentum* is something distinct. The term should mean an oath, like the soldier's oath of allegiance: it is used of the gladiator's oath and of the conspirator's oath. The early Christian use of an oath need not surprise us, in spite of Matt. 5:34, 37 there is evidence for it.³

Now it has always seemed to me natural to explain the words *seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent* as a direct reference to the Ten Commandments. This interpretation seems perfectly obvious, but has not found its way, so far as I can discover, into any annotated edition of Pliny or into the body of theological literature, even when that deals directly and critically with the passage in question; although, by a curious irony, it has been noted by the authors of one or two high-school Latin books. Now few people will deny that in the expression *ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent* it is at least reasonable to see Pliny's version of "thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not commit adultery." The very grouping of the three commandments is significant: in the manuscripts the sixth, seventh, and eighth commandments always appear together but, although the order varies, the injunction against theft never appears first.⁴ Pliny, indifferent to the

² What reason is there to believe that the Bithynian Christians spoke Latin? The same mistake also in Hardy, *Pliny's Correspondence with Trajan* (Macmillan, 1889), p. 214: "Pliny evidently cites the word which these Christians themselves made use of." This conception is based on Tertullian's usage—but Tertullian came from the Latin West, and even there Latin was decidedly at a disadvantage, compared with Greek and Punic. See J. S. Reid, *The Municipalities of the Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 313-15; for the language of Bithynia, pp. 386-88.

³ A. D. Nock, *The Christian "Sacramentum" in Pliny and a Pagan Counterpart*, *Classical Review*, May-June, 1924, pp. 1-2. Odo Casel ("Zum Worte Sacramentum," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, VIII [1928], 225-32) makes an interesting case for *sacramentum* = *μυστήριον*, but misses entirely the sense in Pliny.

⁴ See L. W. Batten, *Decalog*, in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (Scribner's, 1912), IV, 514; R. H. Clarke, *The Decalog* (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1923), p. xxv, n. 1. For the order generally: A. Eberharder, "Der Dekalog," *Biblische Zeitfragen*, XIII (1930), 132-35.

liturgical aspect, places first the crimes which the civil authorities would consider most serious. But what are we to make of *ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent*? These phrases have a characteristic Roman ring—is it possible that they represent a practical Roman's paraphrase of "thou shalt not bear false witness; thou shalt not covet anything that is thy neighbor's"?

Before rejecting what will seem a far-fetched explanation, the reader will do well to remember that in his investigation Pliny was not concerned with establishing the exact text of the Christians' liturgical service. Trajan's reply shows that the religious beliefs of the Christians are of no interest—he is concerned with their political allegiance alone. Strictly speaking, Pliny's investigation of the Christian service, although it does credit both to his humanity and to his intelligent curiosity, was irrelevant. His questions must have been directed at the meaning of the commandments, and he must have encouraged his informants to elaborate upon or to rephrase the exact words of the ritual. This ritual, though based throughout on Jewish ideas, was written not in Hebrew but in Greek, the language both of the Hellenized Thracians who inhabited Bithynia⁵ and of the expatriate Jews. The language of Pliny's court, and the personal and official minutes of the investigation, were, if we may judge of the practice elsewhere in the East, likewise in Greek. But the compact summary of the trial for transmission to the emperor was in Latin. To me personally the changes of meaning involved in Pliny's version of the ninth and tenth commandments seem to be accounted for by this confusion of tongues. But the reader's acceptance of the point is not necessary to the argument. It is at any rate certain, from the clear reference to the sixth, seventh, and eighth commandments, that Pliny's informants were acquainted with the ritual use of the Decalogue.

That the Decalogue should form part of the weekly service of the early Christian church would seem to be natural enough. One reason for the spread of the church was the fact that Jewish communities were widely scattered over the Mediterranean, and that in these communities the traditional biblical literature and the synagogue service were preserved with only minor local changes; even the bitter antagonism

⁵ See Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 386-88.

between the two sects could not destroy their common heritage. But we have better grounds than mere probability for the belief that the Decalogue was part of the Christian service. W. O. E. Oesterley, in *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy*,⁶ cites proof from both the Jerusalem and the Babylonian Talmuds (accumulated from the first to the sixth Christian centuries) that the Decalogue had formerly been read in the synagogue liturgy but had been eliminated; that, according to the Mishnah (compiled ca. A.D. 200), the Decalogue formed an important part of the liturgy, and finally that a liturgical papyrus fragment dated the second or third century A.D. actually contains the Decalogue. He concludes: "It can, therefore, hardly be doubted that the earliest Jewish Christians would have used this form." But Oesterley is unable to go earlier than A.D. 200, "for it does not appear, as far as can be ascertained, that any trace of the liturgical use of the Decalogue is to be discovered in any early Christian Liturgy" (p. 150). We may now go a step farther and point out that in Bithynia in the year A.D. 112 the Commandments were being read in the Christian service.

II

Pliny's description clearly states that there were two distinct services: *morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coeundi*. At the early morning⁷ service (*ante lucem*) the chief features as revealed by the investigation were two: *carmen dicere secum invicem* and *se sacramento obstringere*. At the later meeting, the time of which is not specified, the purpose is *ad capiendum cibum*. What are the services of which Pliny gives us such tantalizing fragments? If they can be identified at all, it must be by comparison with better-known practice before and after the time of Pliny.

Now the Hebrew morning service of Hellenistic times was, as the result of long tradition, divided into two distinct sections. The first, built around the idea of sacrifice, was an elaborate ritual, near the con-

⁶ (Oxford, 1925), pp. 81-82.

⁷ Usually explained as Sunday. See, e.g., one of the most elaborate discussions of the passage in F. J. Doelger, "*Sol salutis*: Gebet und Gesang im christlichen Altertum," *Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen*, 1920, pp. 80-98). Doelger probably reads too much into the phrase *ante lucem* (pp. 85-90): to the ancients "sun-up" denoted merely the beginning of the working-day.

clusion of which came the reading of a psalm. The second was a prayer service in which were recited benedictions and the Ten Commandments.⁸ The resemblance to Pliny is striking. It seems possible that the *ante lucem* service described by Pliny's informants corresponds to this traditional morning service with its two sections of sacrifice and prayer, and that Pliny's summary, not too concise to be accurate, cites one characteristic feature of each portion. The sacrifice portion with the psalm is indicated by *carmen dicere*, the prayer portion with the Commandments by *se sacramento obstringere*.

This interpretation rests, of course, not only on the identity (which I showed above to be likely) of *sacramentum* with Decalogue, but also on an equation which I advance with somewhat less conviction: *carmen* = psalm. Evidence for psalms in the Christian service need hardly be cited here. It is enough to mention I Cor. 14:26: *ἅπαν συνέρχησθε, ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ψαλμὸν ἔχει, διδασχὴν ἔχει*. There is much more disagreement when it comes to describing the *carmen*. Lietzmann's view that to the Christians it played the part of a sort of ritual badge, while to Pliny it seemed a mere charm or incantation, is strenuously opposed by Doelger (*Sol salutis*, pp. 80-98). Doelger argues that *carmen* = *supplicatio*; that *Christo carmen dicere* denotes an invocation to Christ, sung rather than spoken; that these "hymns to Christ" are certainly not Old Testament psalms; and that the antiphonal element is merely the ejaculation by the congregation of "Hallelujah, Amen," etc. But Pliny's *invicem* at least is clear: Greeks and Romans alike were familiar, both in tragic and in lyric poetry, with antiphony as a literary device, and the words can surely denote neither more nor less than "taking turn."⁹ Nor is Doelger's rejection of the psalms based on convincing evidence. At best, in the absence of actual examples, we are forced to decide by probability between "psalm" and "hymn," and Doelger's argument does not dispose of the

⁸ C. C. Keet, *A Liturgical Study of the Psalter* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1928), pp. 73-77.

⁹ For the antiphonal chanting of psalms in the Hebrew service of the Hellenistic period see Keet, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-66, 155; Oesterley, *op. cit.*, p. 75. It is curious that Keet, who searches Hebrew and Christian literature for references to early psalmody, has not even noticed Pliny's statement—surely more significant by far than the later references from Tertullian and others (cited, pp. 155-57). Even if it is rejected, Pliny's statement is too important to be ignored.

more natural equivalent. Oesterley¹⁰ discusses the psalms in the Hebrew service, but rejects them in the case of Pliny's *carmen dicere* for a reason different from Doelger's: "Psalms, it is true, were also sung antiphonally in the Jewish Church and presumably, therefore, by the early Christians; but these were not used at the Eucharist proper, but only at the preparatory service; we assume that the Eucharist proper is spoken of here" (p. 145). Oesterley's last assumption (based on Lightfoot's now discredited view) is wrong; as I suggest below, the Eucharist was celebrated at the later service, and the psalms were, according to Pliny, chanted at the "preparatory service," i.e., in the morning. Oesterley thus misses excellent data for the Christian psalm-reading which he claims was widespread (pp. 148-49). Keet's statement (p. 47; cf. p. 53), "The melody to which psalms were sung was quite subordinated to the words," lends some strength to the view that *carmen dicere* describes chanting rather than singing. The type of music to which hymns were sung may well be exemplified in the setting published in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XV, No. 1786, which shows a highly developed melodic line, quite different from that of a chant.

If then Pliny's *ante lucem* meeting corresponds to the Hebrew morning service practiced long before Pliny's day, to what is it analogous in later times? The most pertinent data come from Justin Martyr, in the middle of the second century, only a generation after Pliny himself. From Justin we learn of the service preparatory to the Eucharist. This "service of the word" (later known as the *missa catechumenorum*) is, according to Srawley,¹¹ apparently derived from, or at least the Christian version of, the regular synagogue morning service, for it "included the same three elements, prayers, lessons and homily." We are enabled thus to establish a tentative sequence: Hellenistic Hebrew morning service; Pliny's *ante lucem* meeting; Justin Martyr's "service of the word"; the catechumen mass. If the sequence is correct, then the character of the service described by

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 73-76, 144-45.

¹¹ J. H. Srawley, *The Early History of the Liturgy* (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 18, 34-39, 41-42. The author discusses Pliny's letter (pp. 32-34), but does not see its significance. The same criticism applies to J. F. Keating, *The Agapé and the Eucharist in the Early Church: Studies* (London: Methuen, 1901), pp. 54-59, who moreover (pp. 20-35) unduly minimizes the Hebrew influence on the early Christian church.

Pliny's informants may be reconstructed not merely from Pliny's data, but also by reasonable inference from the others in the sequence; for it is a reasonable supposition that the liturgy of the churches in Bithynia in A.D. 112, in the period, that is, between Paul and Justin Martyr, represented an intermediate stage in the gradual break from the Jewish background.¹²

The second and later service mentioned by Pliny I am content to identify with either the Agapé or the Lord's Supper, that is, with the typically Christian as opposed to the traditional Hebrew service. It occurred periodically (*stato die*); the very phrase *ad capiendum cibum* seems a reminiscence of the expression employed in Matt. 26:26, 27 (ἄρτον λαμβάνειν)¹³ in describing the Eucharist; and the qualification added by Pliny, in his obvious effort to be fair, that the food was *promiscuum tamen et innoxium* is an allusion to the widespread belief among non-Christians that the common meal was a mere excuse for a cannibalistic orgy. In any case, Keet's description (p. 153) of the early Christian *missa catechumenorum* reverses the order of the services as they are reported by Pliny:

At the conclusion of the Sabbath, the Christians would gather together in their houses for the *Agapé*. Throughout the night they would keep watch, reading the Scriptures, praying, singing psalms. In the early hours of dawn the Mass would be celebrated, after which the faithful would resort to the Temple in order to assist at the offering of the Jewish sacrifice.

Perhaps we may infer that the Bithynian communities held more conservatively to the Palestinian tradition, as would be natural, for Bithynia was less affected by the Hellenization movement than were the districts around Pergamum and Antioch. The account of Paul's service at Troas (Acts 20:7-11) is unfortunately not definite as to details, but it seems clearly enough a final service (on the eve of Paul's departure) rather than the preparatory vigil.

I am glad to relinquish to specialists the vexing problem of the

¹² Sketch of the development in Srawley (pp. 195-223). According to Keating (pp. 45-47), the beginning of the break can be traced back to the time of Paul.

¹³ Also in I Cor. 11:24; but cf. the more frequent use of ἐλάζω in Acts 2:42, 46; 20:7, 11; I Cor. 10:16. It must be admitted that both *capere* and *λαμβάνειν* are colorless expressions.

relation of the Agapé to the Eucharist in the second century,¹⁴ but I may remark that if the two services were distinct, the evening service mentioned by Pliny would more likely be the Agapé than the Eucharist. It seems unlikely that the Christians would voluntarily cease celebrating the Eucharist, as Pliny says they did after the publication of his edict ("quod ipsum facere desisse post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua hetaerias esse vetueram").

If my interpretation is accepted, it will have four results:

1. It will assign a specific meaning to the phrases *se sacramento obstringere* (=obey the Ten Commandments) and *carmen dicere* (=chant a Psalm.)
2. It will afford proof, important for the student of Christian liturgy, that the Decalogue was part of the church service in A.D. 112.
3. It will suggest that the Old Testament psalms were chanted antiphonally in the Christian (and perhaps the Jewish) service of the same period.
4. It will call attention to the need of a thoroughgoing investigation and interpretation, by a competent student of the liturgy, of a document one would have supposed far too well known to be so neglected.

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¹⁴ See Keating, *op. cit.*; Srawley, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-34; H. Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl: Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Liturgie* (Bonn, 1926), pp. 197-210. Keating is perhaps too positive about the identification (p. 55).

CLASSES AND MASSES IN HOMER. II

BY GEORGE M. CALHOUN

THERE is nothing in the Homeric use of genealogical matter¹ to indicate that *κακός*, even if linked with allusions to birth, need be interpreted in any other than its usual Homeric meanings, or implies anything else than a person whose characteristics and appearance are the opposite of kingly. That we have at most a type, not a social or political class, will, I believe, appear upon further examination.

It is quite unnecessary to illustrate the ordinary and familiar meanings in which the word is found over and over again, but a few passages are worth especial attention. There is first Nestor's proposal in B 362 ff., to marshal the army *κατὰ φύλα, κατὰ φρήτρας*, and so determine *ὅς θ' ἡγεμόνων κακὸς ὅς τε νυ λαῶν / ἥδ' ὅς κ' ἐσθλὸς ἔησι*. In Δ 297 ff. the venerable commander puts his charioteers in front; behind them he stations his infantry, *πολέας τε καὶ ἐσθλοὺς, / ἔρκος ἔμην πολέμοιο* and in between he herds the *κακοὺς*, that they may fight willy-nilly. A comparable distinction underlies the interchange of shields in Ξ 376 ff., where *χείρων* replaces *κακός* because it is not a matter of dealing with the *niddering*, the mere coward and weakling, but of choosing between the better man and the worse. In M 267 ff., when the two Ajaxes rate the whole fighting force according to prowess and courage, they very naturally substitute *χεριώτερος* for the offensive *κακός*. Their appeal leads to a mass attack in which missiles fly like snowflakes in a storm. Even when allowance is made for the conventional use of formula, such passages as these imply that *κακοί* and *ἐσθλοί* are not coincident with particular social levels, and they can scarcely be reconciled with the view that *κακός* has become a recognized term for the *λαός*. Furthermore, I find no instance in which *κακός* is used explicitly of the folk or of the rank and file of the army as a whole. Finally, and to me this seems decisive, nowhere in the poems

¹ Discussed in Part I, pp. 204 ff., in connection with the interpretation of certain passages in which *κακός* is supposed to mean "low-born."

do we find the familiar terms which constantly parallel *κακός* in a later time when the word is known to be used in a political sense of the lower classes (e.g., *πονηρός*, *μοχθηρός*, *φαῦλος*, *ἄπορος*, *πένης*, etc.). This rich and picturesque vocabulary for describing the proletariat has not yet developed.²

Homer repeatedly employs the conventional antithesis of *κακός* and *ἐσθλός* in a universal negative, but even here the primary meanings yield a satisfactory interpretation, and there is no need to assume a juxtaposition of social or political classes.³ Fanta excludes *ἐσθλός* from his list of terms for classes, apparently because it is applied to persons of low degree⁴ and collectively to the rank and file.⁵ It is used, however, very much as are the terms he includes, and as good a case could be made for it as for them.⁶ His acceptance of *ἀγαθός* as *Standesbezeichnung* and his rejection of *ἐσθλός* imply the attempt to establish a difference of meaning and use. But this is merely another instance of his failure to take into account the epic technique, for one need only read with reasonable attention to the use of formula to be convinced that the words do not differ perceptibly in meaning, and that the choice of one or the other is oftener than not determined by metrical convenience. Since *ἀγαθός* could not begin a line and certain of its forms could be used only before consonants, the poet often had no choice but to use the synonym, as, for example, in *ἐσθλὸν ἔόντα*,

² The various terms are collected by Busolt (*Griechische Staatskunde*, I [Munich, 1920], 211 f.). While the argument from silence is precarious in the case of single words, the absence of an entire group is cumulative evidence, and justifies at least a skeptical attitude in regard to the presence of the central idea. It is interesting for Homer's milieu to note the uses of *πένωμαι* and the complete absence of *πένης*, even in the sense of "laborer," let alone "pauper." Anyone might "labor" when need arose, but Homer does not mention a "laboring class," and labor is not yet identified with poverty. (We find *πενίη* [ξ 157] and *πενυχτός* [γ 348], each used once only, in the *Odyssey*.) It appears that Homer's craftsmen are individuals with special aptitudes and skill in particular kinds of handiwork; such are often found in simple societies.

³ E.g., θ 553; χ 415 = ψ 66; Z 489; ζ 189; cf. υ 86; A 107 f.; σ 229 = ν 310.

⁴ In ξ 104 goatherds are *ἀνέρες ἐσθλοί*, as are the cup-bearers of γ 471; the formula *ἐσθλός ἔων* is used of Eumaeus sleeping amid his hogs (ο 557); this use of heroic formula was discussed in Part I, p. 196, n. 10.

⁵ E.g., ω 427 (cf. *λαός*, 428); Δ 298 (*πεζοὺς*); N 709 f.; here again we have merely conventional formula, "many and goodly."

⁶ It is, in fact, often given as one of the designations for the Homeric "nobility"; e.g., G. Glotz, *La cité grecque* (Paris, 1928), p. 74; Busolt, p. 211; M. Hoffmann, *Die ethische Terminologie bei Homer, Hesiod und den alten Elegikern und Jambographen* (Tübingen, 1914), p. 79.

ἔσθλός ἐών (but ἀγαθός περ ἐών).⁷ Both words are so often used in conventional ornamental formula that the instances in which the attributions can be stressed are relatively few.

Although I have not found anywhere in the poems an instance of the antithesis ἀγαθός—ἔσθλός×κακός in which the context points uncontestably to a juxtaposition of social or political classes, there are two such instances in fewer than three hundred lines extant from the works of Solon.⁸

The poet naturally does not fail to observe that there are differences between men, or to introduce comparisons based on these differences. But the comparisons cover the whole field of human excellence, and the two or three in which there is question of birth relate to kings. Patroclus is older than Achilles, but the latter is of higher birth (γενεῇ ὑπέρτερος) and far greater prowess (Δ 786). Agamemnon urges Diomedes to choose as partner in his nocturnal adventure that man who is best (ἄριστος) among the champions who volunteer, and not to take Menelaus out of respect for his kingly birth:

μηδὲ σύ γ' αἰδόμενος σῆσι φρεσὶ τὸν μὲν ἀρείω
καλλείπειν, σὺ δὲ χεῖρον ὁπάσσαι αἰδοῖ εἰκων,
ἐς γενεὴν ὁρώων, μηδ' εἰ βασιλεύτερός ἐστιν [K 237-39].

Menelaus compares himself with Antilochus in the words κρείσσω ἀρετῇ τε βίῃ τε, and the latter replies νεώτερός εἰμι / σείο, ἀναξ Μενέλαε,

⁷ Further examples can easily be found. Hoffmann (*loc. cit.*) fails to allow for the formulaic element when he finds ἔσθλός in reference to prowess "noch freigebiger gebraucht als ἀγαθός, das, wie es scheint, als der gewähltere Ausdruck, in der Hauptsache den adligen Führern vorbehalten bleibt."

⁸ Alluding, according to Aristotle, to the disappointment of those who had looked for a redistribution of the land, Solon says:

οὐδὲ μοι τυραννίδος
ἀνδάνει βίη τι ρέζειν, οὐδὲ πείρας χθονὸς
πατρίδος κακοῖσιν ἐσθλοῦς ἰσομοίρην ἔχειν [frag. 30-31 (H.-Cr.)].

Again, after saying of his legislation:

θεσμοὺς δ' ὁμοίως τῷ κακῷ τε καὶ ἀγαθῷ,
εἰθέριαν εἰς ἕκαστον ἀρόσας δίκην,
ἔγραψα [frag. 32, 18 ff. (H.-Cr.)].

he adds that another, given his power, would not have held back the δῆμος. In both cases the interpretation is certain from the context, which is not the case with any of the very few places in Homer in which a similar interpretation is proposed. Thus Hoffman cites (p. 82) θ 553 and χ 415, but remarks that a clear distinction cannot be drawn; in my own opinion, the two passages do not differ appreciably from other instances of the polarized universal negative (cf. *supra*, n. 3).

σὺ δὲ πρότερος καὶ ἀρείων (Ψ 578, 587 f.). Nestor's plea for harmony in A 254 ff. is filled with comparisons between men, ending with the observation that Achilles is καρτερός and the son of a goddess, but Agamemnon φέρτερός ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ πλεόνεσσιν ἀνάσσει (A 280 f.). In proposing the embassy, Agamemnon rests his appeal to Achilles on his own seniority and greater kingly power, ὅσσον βασιλεύτερός εἰμι, / ἢδ' ὅσσον γενεῇ προγενέστερος εὐχομαι εἶναι (I 160 f.). Achilles rejects the hand of Agamemnon's daughter with the bitter suggestion that another be chosen ὃς βασιλεύτερός ἐστιν (I 392). The great majority of comparisons, however, relate to prowess in war or physical strength, and such words as ἀρείων, κρείσσων, and φέρτερος, when not specifically qualified, imply these qualities. In the two instances just cited in which the comparisons have to do with birth, the poet finds it necessary, since apparently he has no specific word for "gentle," "noble," "well-born," to coin a phrase and make clear his meaning by γενεή. Both passages again bring us back to what we have already noted—the poet's recognition of the pre-eminence of kings and the families of kings.

This pre-eminence of kings above the folk, and of certain kings above others, stands out with equal clarity in the contrast between Odysseus' handling of the leaders and of the common soldiers when he stems the rush toward the ships (B 188 ff.). He speaks courteously to the king, the man of distinction, who had been present in the council with the other sceptered kings and high-hearted elders, the leaders and guardians of the Argives; yet even such a man has to fear the displeasure of the greater king, Agamemnon, who at Troy stands as far above other rulers as Odysseus himself, for example, above the petty kings of Ithaca. The common man (δήμου τ' ἄνδρα) is accosted sharply, brutally, not as low born or of mean descent, but merely as one of the rank and file, of no account individually either in battle or in council; when Odysseus strikes him, it is not one of the heaven-born flogging common clay, but the *de facto* commanding officer stemming a rout which may at any moment bring disaster.⁹ The contrast is clearly between the military leaders, who are kings, and the rank and file of the army.

⁹ The episode is in a way suggestive of Xen. *Anab.* ii. 3. 11, where Clearchus strikes with impunity men who may in some instances be his social equals; a blow under different circumstances, however, came near to ending in a lynching (*ibid.* i. 5. 11-17).

The Thersites episode has often been solemnly scrutinized for a social and political significance which I think it does not have, and a character whom the poet took pains to particularize has been hailed as the type of the common man, the champion of the people against the nobles.¹⁰ Thersites is introduced for a purely literary purpose, and that purpose is attained when the cross-currents of bewilderment, anger, and discontent aroused by conflicting commands are swept up into the burst of universal merriment that greets the "heckler's" discomfiture. Homer nowhere tells us that Thersites was of low birth, or even in any way typical of the rank and file, but merely that he was garrulous, sharp-tongued, abusive, fond of raising a laugh against the leaders, grotesquely ugly—the ugliest man in the army and, in Odysseus' opinion, the meanest.¹¹ He meets calamity because on this occasion he has chosen for his "heckling," most ill-advisedly, the moment when Odysseus' nerves are at the snapping-point.

In this part of the narrative the members of the council are described as *γέροντες*, *ἡγήτορες* ἢ δὲ *μέδοντες*, *σκηπτοῦχοι βασιλῆες*, *ἔξοχοι ἄνδρες*. They are elsewhere called *βουλευφόροι ἄνδρες*, *δικασπόλοι ἄνδρες*, *ἡγεμόνες*, etc.; they drink the wine of the *δῆμος* at the board of the chief:

οἱ τε παρ' Ἀτρεΐδης, Ἀγαμέμνονι καὶ Μενελάω,
 δῆμια πίνουσιν καὶ σημαίνουσιν ἕκαστος
 λαοῖς· ἐκ δὲ Διὸς τιμὴ καὶ κῦδος ὀπηδεῖ [P 249–51].

ἡδ' ἐν δαίθ', ὅτε πέρ τε γερούσιον αἶθροπα οἶνον
 Ἀργείων οἱ ἄριστοι ἐνὶ κρητῇρι κέρωνται [Δ 259 f.].

They represent the *polis* when they take the *γερούσιον ὄρκον* (X 119).

¹⁰ E.g., W. R. Halliday, *The Growth of the City State* (Boston, 1923), pp. 73 ff.; J. B. Bury, *A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great* (London, 1904), p. 74; Busolt (p. 336, n. 2) actually suggests that Thersites was thrashed for speaking *ohne Skeptron*, and for R. von Poehlmann, *Aus Allertum und Gegenwart* (Munich, 1895), p. 70, n. 4, he is *der Volksredner Thersites*. Homer makes it abundantly clear that Thersites simply went on shouting and yelling after the crowd had been reduced to order (B 211 f., 221–24). F. Jacoby ("Die geistige Physiognomie der *Odyssee*," *Antike*, IX [1933], 167 f.) also finds in the episode a political significance, but in my opinion Seymour is right in viewing Thersites merely as a buffoon (*Life in the Homeric Age* [New York, 1907], pp. 34, 451). Here, as often, Wilamowitz (*Die Ilias und Homer* [Berlin, 1920], pp. 271 f.) reads the scene aright; he thinks of the stick carried by the Spartan commander, and he feels the poet's purpose—"Das hilft für die Stimmung besser als die schöne Rede des Odysseus"—but, as often, this flash of insight does not clear away his preconceptions: "Wir müssen an die *βασιλεῖς* und *Βασιλεῖδαι* der ionischen Städte denken."

¹¹ It is significant that post-Homeric writers provided him with a distinguished pedigree; cf. Drerup, *Homerische Poetik*, I (Würzburg, 1921), 249 f.

Here we note no titles which refer explicitly to birth, few which are vague or general, and a number which tell us precisely what the elders do. Again we get the impression that these are not references to a social class, set apart by birth, but rather appellations which describe leaders in terms of their actual functions. On the whole they seem appropriate to a rather simple tribal organization.

Much has been made of the fact that in the *Iliad* the heroes who are given the title βασιλεύς are usually rulers or allied to the families of rulers, while in the *Odyssey*, both in Ithaca and in Phaeacia, are found βασιλῆς who are powerful and prominent in the *polis*, but none the less subjects, not rulers.¹² On this difference rests in the main the view that the *Odyssey* reflects a "later" political stage, when the "nobility" is encroaching upon the throne. The theory involves, in my opinion, a palpable misinterpretation, which arises, like many misinterpretations of Homer, from the habit of disregarding the art of the poet and taking his words as though they were spoken *in vacuo*. It is the fallacy which divorces the use of literary sources from literary criticism and reduces this department of historical science to the level of a game with building blocks.

The difference between the two poems in this particular appears to me to be primarily a difference of setting, scale, and technique. In the great host before Troy are gathered so many kings who are actual rulers of *poleis* that they alone fill the stage to overflowing and crowd out the petty kings. The poet must perforce limit his attention to a comparatively small group of leading heroes or his characters and action will be submerged, lost in an unwieldy, amorphous throng of undistinguished humanity; had he done otherwise, we should have a sort of Barnum-and-Bailey pageant led by stuffed figures instead of a clear delineation of the interplay of human passions against a heroic background. For his artistic purposes, in the *Iliad*, the petty kings present before Troy must be, and are, relegated to that anonymous

¹² For the allocation of the title, see the citations given by Fanta, *Der Staat in der Ilias und Odyssee* (Innsbruck, 1882), pp. 19 ff.; G. Finsler, "Das homerische Königtum," *N. Jahrb. kl. Alt.*, XVII (1906), 319 ff., 401 ff., 406 ff. The various theories are conveniently summed up by Busolt, pp. 322 ff., and M. P. Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae* (London, 1933), pp. 215 ff. For von Poehlmann (p. 71), the Phaeacians are "der adelige Musterstaat, in welchem der epische Gesang das Gesellschaftsideal der ionischen Aristokraten poetisch verkörpert hat."

throng of "sceptered kings and high-hearted elders" from which an individual may step forth only occasionally to speak a line or two. In Ithaca and in Phaeacia, on the other hand, there is but one ruler, and of necessity the *dramatis personae* include the petty kings. The logic which sees here differing stages of political evolution would justify us in attributing the scenes in the abodes of Eumaeus and Laertes to a poet who knew only a society dominated by swineherds or husbandmen.

There is fortunately a definite test for this theory that the *Odyssey* reflects a stage in which the substitution of aristocracy for monarchy is well under way. We know actually how the change proceeded in various states, and in every instance it began with the creation of a military or administrative officer who took over certain functions from the king.¹³ There is no trace of this either in Ithaca or in Phaeacia; both Odysseus and Alcinous are in complete enjoyment of the kingly power and exercise all kingly functions.¹⁴ The petty kings loom larger because the stage is smaller, and for no other reason.

Another misinterpretation which results from inattention to the artistic problems of the poet is involved in the statement sometimes made that the fighting was practically all carried on by the charioteers, the kings, and "nobles," while the rank and file counted for nothing. This is to forget that the only possible way to compose a poem of any length which would be enduring was to describe a series of individual episodes, susceptible of unlimited variation, and, having set the general *melée* agoing, to forget about it until it could again be brought in without tedium. The view that actual warfare in Homer's world was limited to duels between kings, heroes, and champions is so patently unreasonable that I should not speak of it at all were it not that state-

¹³ Busolt, p. 348; Glotz, p. 108.

¹⁴ On the belief of Finsler, p. 323, and Nilsson, p. 223, that a trace of the polemarchy is to be seen in ξ 237 ff., cf. *infra*, n. 23. It is significant that the *αἰσυνμήρης*, in later times an aristocratic official or elected dictator, is in Homer only a public referee in charge of games and dances (θ 258 f.). In Ω 347 also I should take the word (here in the form *αἰσυνμηρίης*) in this sense, since Hermes with his staff (343) may very well have suggested a referee; we certainly are not justified in taking it as "princely" merely on the ground of the later usage, and a connection with the king's juridical functions is more than doubtful (cf. Leaf's note to 347). Similarly, *δημοεργός* in Homer refers only to craftsmen, and *ἀρχός* (used of magistrates in Locris, Michel 285, B 17) is the commander of a ship or a military contingent or detachment (of the two leaders of the suitors in δ 629 = ϕ 187). On these and other titles of aristocratic magistrates cf. *infra*, n. 26.

ments of this sort unquestionably have contributed to a false impression of Homeric society.¹⁵

It may seem a distinction without a difference when I propose to substitute for the concept of a Homeric nobility of birth the idea of a society in which each *polis* is dominated by an indeterminate number of petty kings whose immediate families partake of their eminence.¹⁶ As a matter of fact, the distinction is of vital importance in a study of social institutions. In the *Adelsstaat*, the dominant nobility is sharply set apart from the great mass of the people, who are looked upon as of different and lower birth. But the petty king in the tribal state stands only a few removes from the patriarch; he is the head of a kinship group which includes persons of diverse social and economic status, and the aggregate of these kinship groups will usually comprise the entire free population, who are regarded in general as of the same blood and lineage.¹⁷ There is substantial evidence, both in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey*, that the poet was acquainted with a society of this homogeneous character. Nestor's proposal for ordering the army is definite and conclusive on this point; if the host be marshaled by tribes and phratries, it will appear who of the leaders is *κακός* and who of the folk, and who is *ἑσθλός*. The final episode in the *Odyssey* is to my mind equally definite and conclusive, since the kinship of the slain suitors, gathered in the *agora*, seems to comprise practically the entire folk of Ithaca.

To sum up, we have noted repeatedly an antithesis of king and folk, but the evidence for a nobility in any but the loosest sense of the word is slight and precarious. It is in fact limited to a very few instances of a few words which do not in themselves attest a nobility, and are entirely appropriate to leaders and chieftains who come of the same stock as the generality of the folk.¹⁸ Against the orthodox interpretation is the conspicuous absence from the poems of (1) specific terms for nobility of birth, (2) the antonyms of these terms, (3) words for an-

¹⁵ E.g., Nilsson, p. 228.

¹⁶ In the main this accords with the views of Grote (cf. Part I, p. 193, n. 2).

¹⁷ We are here concerned only with the *λαός*, not with the lowest elements in the population.

¹⁸ Cf. G. de Sanctis, *ATΘΙΣ, Storia della repubblica Ateniese* (Turin, 1912), p. 47: "Gli abitanti d'una città o d'un villaggio credono di discendere da un capostipite comune, che è in generale l'eponimo del villaggio o della città."

cestors and descendants, (4) certain familiar terms closely associated with the aristocratic *γένη*. The doubts aroused by these lacunae and their incidence are reinforced by the coincident absence of the appellations constantly given in later times to the lower classes. I believe these doubts will be still further confirmed if we go on to consider some additional differences, of a rather striking nature, between the Homeric vocabulary and that of a later age. We note that in Homer *δῆμος* normally includes the whole folk, but *δῆμον ἀνὴρ* may be contrasted with a king or *ἔσχατος ἀνὴρ* (B 188, 198), as Polydamas contrasts himself (*δῆμον ἔοντα*) with Hector (M 213). In later literature, however, the *δῆμος* normally includes only the lower classes, or the popular party, and is repeatedly contrasted, not of course with kings and champions, but with *οἱ μείζους*, *βίαν ἀμείνονες*, *ἄνδρες μεγάλοι* (Solon, frag. 7; frag. 32a [H.-Cr.]), *οἱ παχέες*, *οἱ εὐδαίμονες* (Hdt. i. 196; v. 30), *οἱ δυνατοί* (Thuc. v. 4; viii. 73), etc. Homer has the adjective *δήμιος*, "public," but not *δημοτικός* or *δημότης*, "popular." The numerous appellations for the upper classes found in later writers either do not occur in Homer or have totally different meanings. For example, Herodotus' *παχέες* in Homer could only be "stout" men, and Solon's *ἄνδρες μεγάλοι*, *μείζους*, *βίαν ἀμείνονες*, only tall, powerful warriors or athletes. This striking shift in the meanings of this group of words is in evidence as early as Callinus, for in the sole surviving fragment of more than a line, though the *δῆμος* is still the whole folk (= *λαῶ σύμπαντι*), his *δλίγος* and his *μέγας* are the familiar social types.¹⁹ The upper classes in post-Homeric literature are constantly called *οἱ δλίγοι*, but in Homer *δλίγος* means "little," "weak," "slight"; *γνώριμος* occurs once in Homer, meaning "acquaintance." All the rest of the rich vocabulary for the noble and wealthy classes simply does not occur. Amazing as it seems, *πλούσιος* does not appear even in the singular.

Such differences as these are significant. They apply quite generally to entire groups of words, and they point quite generally in definite directions. They point away from ancestry, away from noble *γένη*, and toward the immediate family, away from classes and orders and toward the individual. They cannot be mere coincidence, and, until

¹⁹ This sense of *δλίγος* is of course to be distinguished from the more frequent use of the plural to describe the upper classes as well as from the Homeric use.

they shall be explained, our verdict regarding a Homeric nobility of birth must be *non liquet*. More particular conclusions must wait upon a thoroughgoing study of these and related terms, especially in the earlier post-Homeric literature,²⁰ but even the sporadic instances to which I invite attention are sufficient evidence that the social concepts of Homer—and presumably his social environment—differed fundamentally from anything we find in historic times. There is here a wider gap than has been realized.

I have attempted to interpret the evidence of the poems objectively, and independently of what we know, or surmise, from other sources. If the interpretation be sound, it appears that the poet had in mind consistently a society that was very simply organized in kinship groups and believed itself to be homogeneous.²¹ The orientation of that society in history falls outside the scope of this inquiry. The processes by which this seeming unity may have evolved from a mingling of Hellenic invaders with an indigenous population, and the circumstances which produced the institutions of the early historical age, must be studied from a variety of sources, not Homer only. Nor is it part of my task to search for analogies, though I am inclined to think they may profitably be sought in the very early history of the Celtic, Germanic, or Scandinavian folk. These and like problems fall rather to the student of history and comparative institutions. From what has been said regarding the use of the Homeric text as a source, it will appear that the tasks of reconstructing the background from the

²⁰ These are delicate problems, complicated by the necessity of allowing for the habits and the vagaries of poetic composition. E.g., it might be urged that Homer did not use *πλοῦσιος* because *ἀφνειός* expressed the idea and was better suited to the hexameter, which does not admit certain forms of *πλοῦσιος*. Yet *πλοῦσιος* is found in Hesiod *Works* 22 and in the *Hymn to Hermes* 171, and *δαβιος*, metrically an equivalent, is frequent in Homer. Instances of *ἀφνειός* and *δαβιος* which might be taken as references to a wealthy class are relatively few, e.g., τ 79; Ω 318. When full allowance is made for the exigencies of poetic technique, we have still to explain why this adjective, which was commonly used to describe a wealthy class when that class definitely existed, is not found in Homer, though the noun from which it derives is not uncommon in the poems, and why the adjectives Homer applies to wealthy persons are not included in the later political vocabulary. Here again is the obvious break.

²¹ We are not concerned here with the problem of conscious archaism, or reminiscence of earlier stages, but only with the latest stage that can be traced in the poems. What is significant is the lack of any indication in the poet's language that he has any knowledge whatsoever of the social and political conditions that obtained at the beginning of the historical period.

poems and relating that reconstruction to the historical and archaeological record are not so far advanced as many think. It is not even certain that substantial progress can be made in the latter problem unless important external evidence shall be discovered; the various hypotheses that have been proposed are little more than guesses. At this stage the important thing, to my thinking, is to clear the ground, to recognize frankly that the hope of tracing an evolution of society from "early" Homeric phases down through an orderly succession of stages, of which the later approximate very closely the institutions of the early historical age, is simply a delusion. There is, in fact, a sharp break between Homer and the historical age, and the differences in social and political concepts and practices have in general been underestimated.

The conviction which was once the guiding principle of Homeric studies, that various strata in the poems could be neatly isolated and the contribution of each period viewed by itself, has gradually weakened in recent years, and is decently laid to rest by Nilsson, when he points out emphatically that old and new are inextricably mingled throughout the text.²² The difference between Nilsson's own method and that of his predecessors is not, however, quite so great as he believes, since he is prone to classify as "early" all that suggests the archaeological glories of the Mycenaean age, and as "late" whatever he thinks can be connected with the aristocracies.²³ We must still be-

²² Pp. 212 ff.; cf. Cauer, *Grundfragen der Homerkritik* (Leipzig, 1923), p. 309; Jacoby, p. 163.

²³ E.g., p. 223: "There is a trace of this development [toward the polemarchy] in the *Odyssey* in a fictitious narrative of Odysseus [ξ 237 ff.], who passes himself off for a Cretan and says that the Cretans asked him and Idomeneus to conduct their ships to Troy. This is a sign of a late date of this passage and does not apply to the old background of the epics." Since the story is merely that a redoubtable leader of forays was associated with Idomeneus in the command, and nothing at all is said regarding the terms of that association, I can see no reason for connecting it with one time or stage of development more than another; such arrangements must have been quite usual from the very earliest times. Again, when the poet says, speaking of the kingly prerogatives of Odysseus, that Telemachus partakes of the goodly feasts, *ὡς ἐτίουκε δίκασπόδων ἄνδρ' ἀλεγύνειν, πάντες γὰρ καλέουσι* (λ 186 f.), it seems a bit precarious to say (p. 224) that here the *δίκασπόδοι* "seem to be a class identified with the noblemen. This is, of course, a late development in which the nobility monopolized the courts, and to this later time belongs also a striking simile in the *Iliad*" (II 384 ff.). Such interpretations as these seem to me quite subjective. (Since I am compelled in this inquiry to emphasize points on which I cannot accept Professor Nilsson's conclusions, I may perhaps be permitted to acknowledge my indebtedness to his excellent work, which represents a distinct advance in the application of archaeological data to Homeric study.)

ware of interpretations founded on external facts whose connection with the poems has not been sufficiently established.

However, whatever view we may adopt in regard to differences in social background between the two poems, or between passages in the poems, we are compelled unequivocally to reject theories that would join Homeric society neatly on to the early aristocracies, with scarcely a gap or interruption. Suppose, for the sake of argument, we grant that the wider use of *βασιλεύς* marks a "later" stage, and assume with Nilsson²⁴ that we start with one king, a sovereign ruler, and end up with a landed nobility whose members are all *βασιλῆς*, how do we explain the disappearance of the title in the latter sense?²⁵ How do we explain the absence from the aristocratic titles of the other appellations found in Homer, such as *δικασπόλοι*, *βουληφόροι*, *κοίρανοι*, etc., which either disappear or survive as merely poetic words, while their place is taken by the familiar titles of *πολέμαρχος*, *ἄρχων*, *ἔφορος*, *κόσμος*, *ταγός*, etc., not found in Homer?²⁶ Common sense demands that so sweeping a change of terminology be explained. Furthermore, this

²⁴ P. 241: "Hence the word 'king' came to be attached to all noblemen." Cf. also p. 230: "The vassals are sometimes called 'kings' in the *Iliad*, in the *Odyssey* this name belongs to all members of the nobility."

²⁵ If *βασιλῆς* was ever a collective term for a nobility, no trace of the use has survived, so far as I can discover; where the title is found in the aristocracies, it appears to derive either from kings properly so called or from petty kings who had been actually heads of kinship groups within the *polis*. The sources are cited and discussed by Busolt (pp. 348 ff.), who explains the aristocratic boards or commissions of *βασιλῆς* by reference to the twelve kings who made up the council of Alcinoüs (351 f.). On the *φυλοβασιλῆς* in Athens, cf. G. Gilbert, *Constitutional Antiquities of Sparta and Athens* (London, 1895), p. 109.

²⁶ The words *ἄρχων*, *πολέμαρχος*, *ἔφορος*, *κόσμος*, *ταγός*, *προστάτης*, *ἀρτύνης*, *δήμαρχος*—all titles of aristocratic officials (Busolt, pp. 348 ff.; Glotz, 103 ff.)—do not, I believe, occur anywhere in Homer; *Ἡρότανος* is found once as a proper name (E 678); *αἰσυμνήτης*, *δημιοεργός*, *ἄρχος*, have clearly not yet developed their magisterial connotations (cf. *supra*, n. 14). While poetic usage might possibly account for the appearance in Homer of words which are not to be found among actual aristocratic titles, it cannot account for the complete absence from the poems of this entire group of words. The only construction that can reasonably and fairly be put upon the facts is, in my opinion, that the poet was entirely unacquainted with aristocratic institutions. This is the insuperable objection to the theories of Finsler, who is evidently troubled by the complete absence of *ἄρχων*, and hence is led to argue that the aristocratic "regent" was called *βασιλεύς*, and that the title was later transferred to a religious official along with the sacral functions of the "Regent" (pp. 393 ff.). Such arguments are not very convincing; the prevailing view, that the king was gradually stripped of all but his sacral functions and his title, accords better with the general probabilities and with tradition (cf. Busolt, p. 348; Glotz, p. 108). The problem is too complex to be gone into here in more detail.

change seems to imply a considerable lapse of time. A relatively early date for the appearance of aristocratic magistrates is indicated by such evidence as the Athenian list of annual archons, with the reasonable account of the process by which the office was developed, and quite credible testimony for the antiquity of the Spartan ephorate.²⁷ All this must be considered by any who favor a very late date for the composition of the poems, since it is highly improbable that the poet—or, if you please, the redactor—could have kept this entire class of words out of his verses, had he lived in a society in which aristocracy was rampant and the powers of the king were being divided up among aristocratic functionaries. If he did, the prevailing beliefs regarding archaism in the epic will need to be radically revised.

Paradoxical as the statement may appear, the wider use of *βασιλεύς*, objectively considered, is very likely to be the earlier, and to reflect a time in which the *γέροντες* were still spoken of as "kings" despite the change in their status which had come about with unification of the *polis*. The contrary is the orthodox view, but I find no dependable evidence of its validity. It rests upon assumptions that are as yet unproved. To regard the wider use as the earlier would be quite in accord with what little can be glimpsed in history or tradition touching the origins of the city-state. The petty kings, originally independent, become first the "elders" of the king's council; they are then called either *βασιλῆες* or *βουλευφόροι ἄνδρες*, *γέροντες*, etc.²⁸ Later with the increasing importance of agriculture and the accumulation of large estates, they constitute a landed nobility which encroaches upon the powers of the king by appointing magistrates to share his functions; with these new conditions is created an entirely new vocabulary of official titles and political terms. It might be held quite plausibly that in the more remote localities such as Ithaca the process had lagged and the old title of *βασιλεύς* had not so rapidly fallen into disuse. I am inclined, however, as has been explained, to regard the difference

²⁷ On the history of the ephorate and the archonship cf. Gilbert, pp. 16, 111 ff.

²⁸ Cf. *supra*, p. 305. By assuming that the enjoyment of the title was first narrowed down to the ruler of the *polis* and then again extended to all the "nobility," the orthodox view introduces an awkward and needless complication, since on any theory we must believe that the independent petty kings were called *βασιλεῖς* prior to unification of the *polis*.

between the poems in this respect as purely and simply a matter of artistic economy.

Like the marked changes we have noted in the uses and meanings of certain words and the absence from Homer of whole groups of related terms, this basic shift in official titles strongly indicates that the gap between Homeric and historic social concepts and conditions is too wide and deep to be ignored in history worthy of the name. This, too, must be accounted for before a very late date for the composition of the poems can be accepted.

Although this study does not undertake to support an affirmative theory regarding the time or place of Homer, certain of the conclusions have a direct bearing upon the problem. I may be permitted to observe (1) that the hypothesis of an original "great king" ruling almost absolutely by divine right is in the main an inference from external data whose relation to the poems is yet to be determined; (2) that the historical aristocratic state is apparently quite unknown to the poet; (3) that little or nothing in the text is incompatible with the rather simple tribal monarchy which appears, both from the archaeological record and from the Greek tradition, to have been a common form of social organization prior to the rise of the aristocracies.²⁹ I am myself entirely willing to be convinced that the poet lived in the heyday of aristocracy, or that he saw a nobility of birth ruling over a plebeian mass, or that the poems date from the end of the eighth century. But the demonstrations, to be convincing, must explain these matters that hitherto have been so generally ignored, if perceived at all—the absence of aristocratic titles and words for noble birth and the peculiar shifts in vocabulary to which attention has been invited.

²⁹ Thucydides' description of Hellenic life under the *πατρικαὶ βασιλείαι* (i. 13. 1) in his opening chapters is in accord with the poverty of material remains. Just as the splendor of Wagner's music and his stage settings captivate our imaginations and prevent us from realizing that Sigmund is merely a tribal warrior clad in a bearskin and Hunding's house a rude cabin, so the stately beauty of Homer's diction makes it hard to realize the extreme simplicity of Homeric life and social organization. The belief that the poems could not have been composed in an age of material poverty and weakness is no more than a priori assumption, and is open to the objection that, even if the actual composition of the poems be credited to the brilliant Ionian culture, the long process by which the epic style was evolved (now revealed in some of its aspects by the studies of Milman Parry) must extend far back into the so-called Dark Ages of Greece. The linking of this supreme artistic creation—the Homeric language and verse—with a very low level of material culture seems to be inescapable.

More important, however, than these problems, than even the dating of Homer, are the questions of method that have been touched upon. We have seen how easy it is for statements based on false or doubtful premises to find a secure refuge in histories and handbooks, and how common a source of error is the habit of interpreting the poems without regard to the art of the poet. Important considerations too often neglected are (1) the metrical necessities which frequently determine the choice of words and the allocation of epithets; (2) the conventional technique, not only of epithets, but of ornamental and formulary material in general; (3) the control exercised over the poet by the purpose and general plan of his work and the epic tradition.³⁰ So general is the practice of basing statements in regard to Homeric society on isolated passages, interpreted without reference to these considerations or to the rest of the text, that much of what has been written on the subject must be regarded as of doubtful validity.³¹

Not infrequently all of the considerations I have mentioned enter into the correct interpretation of a single word or phrase. For example, we noted that Fanta proposed some nice distinctions in regard to *ῥαχάμος* with *ἀνδρῶν* and with *λαῶν*. Let us take *v* 185 and 254, where the cowherd Philoetius is called *ῥαχάμος ἀνδρῶν*. The appearance of so homely a personage, rather than a famous champion or king, is determined by the fact that a scene in Ithaca cannot limit its characters to kings and princes; once admitted into the *dramatis personae*, Philoetius is *ipso facto* entitled to receive one or another of the conventional epithets; the quantities of the syllables in his name make it con-

³⁰ In addition to what has been said in regard to the interpretation of epithets and ornamental formulas (cf. esp. Part I, n. 10), I would propose recognition of the principle that the purpose of the poet is to entertain, not to instruct, admonish, or proselytize, and that the artistic motive is always to be preferred to any other in explanation and interpretation. Thus the burden of proof would rest definitely on those who see in the Thersites episode an attempt to cast ridicule on a political opposition and not a purely artistic device.

³¹ A recent instance is an interpretation of *τ* 109 ff. proposed by G. E. W. van Hille in "Het koningschap van Odysseus," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, XLVIII (1933), 362 f. After remarking that among such peoples as the South African Baronga "De vorst is de incarnatie van het stamleven," the author quotes *τ* 109-14, and observes: "Deze verzen hebben geen zin, als de vorst niet is de god-mensch, aan wien zee en aarde gehoorzamen." Anyone at all acquainted with the Homeric connotations of *θεοειδής*, with the implications of *εὐδίκη*, and *εὐηγέσι*, and with what is said elsewhere in the poems regarding the attitude of the gods toward righteousness and unrighteousness, must be distrustful of such an interpretation.

venient to accompany it in the second half of the verse with a formula of the metrical value — ∪ — ∪ ; since the name is in the nominative, not vocative, the formula with ἀνδρῶν is used, that with λαῶν not being metrically possible. All this of course, for the oral composer, was an instantaneous reaction to long habit, entirely subconscious, but none the less definitely true to technique. Poetically, the result is excellent, but as a datum for theories regarding social conditions in Ithaca or differences between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, it is not entirely reliable.³²

I have elsewhere observed that we cannot understand or appreciate ancient literature without knowing in some measure the background it implies.³³ May I add here that we cannot hope to know the background unless we learn to treat our literary sources as literature? For the Hellenist, historical and literary studies must be identical.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

³² This is of course an extreme case, but the general type of interpretation is still to be found quite often.

³³ "Télémaque et le plan de l'*Odysée*," to be published in *Rev. ét. gr.*, XLVII (1934) 153 ff.

NOTES ON LUCAN'S *PHARSALIA*

(SECOND GROUP)¹

By H. C. NUTTING

I

Ingreditur pulsa fluvium statione vacantem
Caesar et ad tutas hostis compellitur arces.
Et iam moturas ingentia pondera turris
Erigit, et mediis subrepit² vinea muris.
Ecce, nefas belli! Reseratis agmina portis
Captivum traxere ducem, civisque superbi
Constitit ante pedes [ii. 503 ff.].

WHEN Caesar crossed the river before Corfinium and laid siege to that town, the garrison cut matters short by surrendering its commander into Caesar's hands.

In verse 506 there is some doubt as to the meaning of the phrase *mediis . . . muris*. It seems generally assumed that *mediis* is intended to characterize the walls as being between the besieged and Caesar.³ Lucan certainly does make such application of the adjective *medius* in passages where the things separated are explicitly indicated;⁴ but in the citation above that sort of interpretation is pointless and insipid.⁵

Some light may be shed upon this matter by bringing into comparison the use of *medius* in examples like the following:

Ignave, venire
Te Caesar, non ire, iubet. Prior ipse per hostes
Percussi *medias* alieni iuris *harenas*;
Tu mea castra times [v. 487 ff.]?

¹ See XXVII, 243 ff.

² There is some support for the reading *subrepsit* here.

³ See Francken *ad loc.* and the comment of N. Lundquist. *Studia Lucanea* (Holmiae, 1907), p. 146. Duff is very explicit: "Creeps up to the walls that divide the armies."

⁴ E.g., iv. 18: "*Medius* dirimit tentoria gurgēs." Cf. i. 100, ii. 311, iv. 33, etc.

⁵ The scholiast, as reported by Weber, suggests that Lucan means to say that the wall is pierced halfway through, or that the city had triple walls, the reference being to the one between the other two. In *Mnemosyne*, XVIII (1890), 348 ff., P. H. Damsté suggests reading *atque imis* for *et mediis*.

Medias perrumpe procellas
Tutela secure mea. Caeli iste fretique
Non puppis nostrae, labor est [v. 583 ff.].

In the first of these passages Caesar is urging Antony to put to sea at once and at all hazard⁶ to bring over to Greece the part of the army that had been left at Brundisium, pointing out that he himself had rushed the first division across. As Antony continued to delay, Lucan represents Caesar as embarking upon a small craft by night, hoping thus to reach Italy and to take command in person at Brundisium. On the way he was overtaken by a great storm, and the pilot was for turning back; but, in the second citation above, Caesar exhorts him to push straight on in the teeth of the storm.

In such connections as these, *medius* obviously stands for something more than its ordinary face values; it chimes with the notation of a determined and unswerving drive forward. In the first instance, for example, one would not go far astray in rendering: "Leading the way through hostile fleets I struck the enemy's shore *head-on*."

Returning to the passage at the head of this note, it will be seen that Caesar is acting with vigor and dispatch, as is reflected in the fact that but two lines are given to the description of his siege operations; and the use of *medius* in this connection suits admirably with the idea of unswerving and inexorable advance on the part of the *vinea*: "*Straight up* under the walls creeps the *vinea*"; or, if the poet means that the work of undermining the fortifications is already under way: "*The vinea burrows straight on beneath the walls*."

II

Tractentur volnera nulla
315 Sacra manu. Si caelicolis furor arma dedisset,
Aut si terrigenae temptarent astra gigantes,
Non tamen auderet pietas humana vel armis
Vel votis prodesse Iovi, sortisque deorum
Ignarum mortale genus per fulmina tantum

⁶ The season was not favorable, and Pompey's fleets were patrolling the sea.

⁷ Often, of course, an unswerving forward drive calls for hardihood or courage. In several passages which employ *medius* in the colorful sense above illustrated this aspect of the situation is indicated specifically, e.g. i. 322 (*auso*), vii. 590 (*temerarius*), x. 487 (*audaci*); cf. v. 304. So the idea of abandon in one's action, ix. 122 (*praeceps*), ii. 524 (*rue certus*); cf. iii. 352.

In the description of the course of the Nile near its source, the notion of unswerving advance in a straight line is well illustrated by balanced phrases in which *medium* is set off against *rectus* (x. 289): "In borean is *rectus* aquis *mediumque* Booten."

- 320 Sciret adhuc caelo solum regnare Tonantem.
 Adde quod innumerae concurrunt undique gentes,
 Nec sic horret iners scelerum contagia mundus,
 Ut gladiis egeant civilia bella coactis.
 Sit mens ista quidem cunctis, ut vestra recusent
- 325 Fata, nec haec alius committat proelia miles.
 Cui non conspecto languebit dextra parente?
 Telaque diversi prohibebunt spargere fratres.
 Finis adest rerum, si non committitis illis
 Arma, quibus fas est [iii. 314 ff.].

This is part of the plea of the people of Marseilles who are entreating Caesar to allow them to remain aloof from the struggle between him and Pompey.

There is much difference of opinion as to the interpretation of the last sentence cited (vss. 328-29). Some hold that *finis . . . rerum* means a general *débâcle*, and others that it refers to an end of civil war. At the close of this line, the manuscripts show a variation between *illis* and *ullis*, and it is debated whether *committitis . . . arma* means to put arms into the hands of, or to engage in battle against,⁸ which leads to the further question as to whether *quibus fas est* refers to the Romans or to foreigners.

Here is a situation that promises no easy solution. Housman feels that the opening phrase of verse 328 should refer to the end of the civil war; and, on the ground that *finis . . . rerum* can hardly bear that meaning, he adopts Schrader's emendation *finis . . . scelerum*. As between the variants *illis* and *ullis*, he chooses the latter, making the final clause of the sentence a reference to foreign peoples. So Duff renders: "The civil war will soon end, if you refrain from enlisting those whom alone is it lawful to enlist"—the idea being that since Romans confronted by Romans will not fight (as pointed out in vss. 326-27), hostilities will stop automatically if foreign nations are not drawn in.

This interpretation suits fairly well the immediate context; but it is by no means sure, resting as it does upon an emendation. Moreover, it puts a considerable strain upon *quibus fas est*, which seems to mean *quibus (ea committere) fas est*; for the question may fairly be raised whether it would really be *fas* for Romans to enlist foreign peoples for the purpose of vicariously killing other Romans.

⁸ Cf. *committat proelia* in vs. 325. See also We se's note *ad loc.*, which is supported by Damsté, *op. cit.*, pp. 349 ff.

A few lines above, the envoys have taken very different ground; for in verses 214-20 they say that it would amount to sacrilege for their townspeople to be enlisted in the civil war, and in verse 322 it is implied that such participation by foreigners would involve *contagia scelerum*.⁹

There is still much to be said for the interpretation proposed by Cortius. He regarded *finis . . . rerum* of the manuscripts as meaning a general *débâcle*; and he reads *illis* at the close of 328, making *quibus fas est* a reference to the Romans. His elucidation follows:

Hoc volunt Massilienses: Finis adest imperii Romani, nisi in hoc bello cives tantummodo pugnant, quibus, si bellum civile esse debet, solis arma committere fas est. Nam cives quidem non pugnabunt, quod probaverunt vs. 326, 327; at si exteros admittis, quos pietas a caede non arcebit, omnino cuncta miscbuntur, Romani per exteros se invicem conficient, et imperium eorum interibit.

This understanding of the passage gives a natural meaning to *finis . . . rerum*. Furthermore, it not only accords better with the earlier part of the speech of the envoys than does the interpretation advocated by Housman, but it also provides a fitting climax in the plea that their countrymen be not forced into the civil war.

With Caesar in the truculent mood ascribed to him by Lucan in connection with this incident, it would have been ill advised and futile to urge that if foreign nations are not drawn in, the Romans on both sides will mutiny and refuse to fight, leaving the issue undecided between him and Pompey. On the other hand, it is much to the point to warn that chaos impends, if war is made general through the enlistment of foreign nations by the rival leaders.

As for calling it *fas* to arm Romans against Romans, this is merely another application of the general principle that circumstances alter cases. Normally, of course, such action would be *nefas*; but here it is *fas* because in this instance it means putting arms into the hands of those only who will not use them (vss. 326-27).

⁹ This particular point perhaps should not be too closely pressed; for Lucan is notably desultory in the construction of his speeches, and consistency often is woefully lacking. This circumstance adds much to the difficulty of interpreting passages like the one now under discussion.

The converse situation is illustrated in the use of *nefas* in the following passage:

Quem non mille simul turmis nec Caesare toto
 Auferret fortuna locum, victoribus unus
 Eripuit vetuitque capi seque arma tenente
 Ac nondum strato Magnum vicisse negavit.
 Scaeva viro nomen; castrorum in plebe merebat
 145 Ante feras Rhodani gentes; ibi sanguine multo
 Promotus Latiam longo gerit ordine vitem;
 Pronus ad omne *nefas*, et qui nesciret, in armis
 Quam magnum virtus crimen civilibus esset [vi. 140 ff.].

When Pompey almost broke through Caesar's line of fortifications, he was stopped by the devoted and heroic centurion Scaeva. In the midst of Lucan's prelude of praise, it is rather startling to find the hero characterized as *pronus ad omne nefas* (vs. 147); but the remainder of the sentence makes the meaning clear: action in the highest degree praiseworthy in itself becomes *nefas* when directed against the lives of fellow-Romans.¹⁰

III

Nunc ades, aeterno complectens omnia nexu,
 O rerum mixtique salus concordia mundi
 Et sacer orbis amor. Magnum nunc saecula nostra
 Venturi discrimen habent; periire latebrae
 Tot scelerum, populo venia est erepta nocenti;
 Agnovere suos [vi. 189 ff.].

In the first Spanish campaign Caesar intercepted the Pompeians in their attempt to reach the Ebro, and the rival forces were brought face to face at such short range that citizens could recognize citizens in the opposing ranks and fraternize with them. Now, says Lucan, a critical moment had arrived: shall it be peace, or, with eyes wide open to the iniquity of their action, will these armies curse the world with a legacy of civil strife?

Without exception the editors seem to regard *venturi* (vs. 192) as a genitive singular dependent upon *discrimen*, and as synonymous with the genitive *futuri*. If this is the case, it is the only instance in which

¹⁰ Cf. a different point of view as to a like situation in i. 667 ff.

Lucan uses the genitive *venturi* as a noun,¹¹ his regular practice being to write *futuri*, as follows:

ne qua *futuri* spes [i. 522 ff.]
 metuensque *futuri* [ii. 233]
 mundoque¹² *futuri* conscius [v. 89 ff.]
 arcana *futuri* carmina [v. 137 ff.]
 nullumque *futuri* . . . diem [v. 199 ff.]
 odiumque *futuri* [viii. 165]

It does not necessarily follow, of course, that the editors are wrong in treating *venturi* as a genitive in the passage now under discussion. But it certainly is pertinent to consider whether *venturi* may not be here also the noun nominative plural,¹³ as it is in ix. 985. If so, *habent* (vs. 192) is construed with a double accusative, for which compare the following:

Nunc neque Pompei *Brutum* neque Caesaris *hostem*,
 Post bellum victoris habes [ii. 283 ff.].¹⁴

The English idiom is somewhat different: "You have now [in] Brutus an enemy neither of Pompey nor of Caesar," etc. See again:

Insignem illa die virum Sempronium Densum aetas nostra vidit. Centurio is praetoriae cohortis, a Galba custodiae Pisonis additus, stricto pugione . . . vulnerato Pisoni effugium dedit [Tacitus *Hist.* i. 43. 1].¹⁵

This may be rendered: "On that day our age saw [in the action of] Sempronius Densus a splendid man." So far the Lucan passage here in question: "At this juncture unborn generations [*venturi*] have [in the action of] our age a vital turning-point."¹⁶

¹¹ Elsewhere there are occurrences of the noun genitive *venturi*, as in Ovid *Met.* vi. 157.

In Lucan the adjective genitive *venturi* is found once (vii. 105), and the noun nominative plural *venturi* once (ix. 985).

¹² There is a variant reading *mundique*, with which *futuri* would be adjective and not noun.

¹³ There is perhaps a suggestion of this in the rather confused comment in Usener on vs. 191.

¹⁴ Cf. vi. 22 ff.

¹⁵ Cf. Lucan vii. 398 ff. Perhaps there should be mention in this connection even of the odd expression *gigantes erexit montes* (ix. 656 ff.).

¹⁶ The artificial separation of adjective and noun (*magnum* . . . *discrimen*) is quite in Lucan's style (see the "University of California Publications in Classical Philology," XI [1932], 268), and it does not militate against the interpretation here proposed.

IV

Super ardua ducit

Saxa, super cautes abrupto limite signa,
 Cum procul e summis conspecti¹⁷ collibus hostes.
 Fraude sua cessere parum, dum colle relicto
 Effusum patulis aciem committeret arvis [iv. 739 ff.].

So Lucan describes the advance of Curio, and the stratagem used by King Juba to lure him away from the shelter of the hills. The traditional punctuation of this passage was for a long time far different, e.g.:

Super ardua ducit

Saxa, super cautes abrupto limite signa.
 Cum procul a summis conspecti collibus hostes
 Fraude sua cessere parum, dum colle relicto
 Effusam patulis aciem committeret arvis.

Francken introduced the comma after *signa* (vs. 740), and Hosius the full stop after *hostes* (vs. 741). The effect of these changes is to unite the first three lines of the citation into a definite period.¹⁸ There is strong support for this arrangement in the following parallel:

Lucifer a Casia prospexit rupe diemque
 Misit in Aegyptum primo quoque sole calentem,
 Cum procul a muris acies non sparsa manipulis
 Nec vaga conspicitur, sed iustos qualis ad hostes
 Recta fronte venit [x. 434 ff.].

It is rather obvious in both these instances that the *cum*-clause is of the "inversum" type, for which other writers often utilize the combinations *cum subito* and *cum repente*. Neither of these is found in Lucan. His penchant for *cum procul* seen in both of the foregoing passages appears again in another which is somewhat distorted by a parenthesis:

. . . et hinc placidis alto delabitur auris
 In litus, Palinure, tuum—neque enim aequare tantum
 Ausonio monumenta tenes, portusque quietos

¹⁷ Al. *conspexit*.

¹⁸ There could, of course, be no question on this point if the variant *conspexit* were to be read in vs. 741.

Testatur Libye Phrygio placuisse magistro—
Cum procul ex alto tendentes vela carinae
 Ancipites tenere animos, sociosne malorum
 An veherent hostes [ix. 41 ff.].¹⁹

Cato is sailing along the coast of Africa, when the sight of his ships strikes anxious fear into the hearts of the Pompeians who are watching on the shore.

In the light of such examples it seems rather unfortunate that Housman reverts to the old style of punctuation for the passage first cited in this note.²⁰

V

Maerentia tecta
 Caesar habet vacuasque domos legesque silentis
 Clausaque iustitio tristi fora. Curia solos
 Illa videt patres, plena quos urbe fugavit;
 Ordine de tanto quisquis non exulat, hic est [v. 30 ff.].

Senators scattered by Caesar's advance into Italy had gathered in Epirus to take measures for the defense of the state. Addressing this group, the consul Lentulus makes the claim that the present gathering is the real senate, and then (vss. 30 ff.) he passes on to the senators who have assembled at Rome prepared to carry out the wishes of Caesar.

It has been customary to interpret *exulat* (vs. 34) in the light of this distinction. Lentulus is thought to say that Epirus, by virtue of the august assembly there convened, is now the *patria* of the Romans, while the senators at Rome with Caesar are "in exile."²¹ Duff's com-

¹⁹ It may be noted incidentally that Lucan shows a tendency also to use a clause introduced by *ecce* where *cum-inversum* might have been employed (see i. 262, ii. 507, and perhaps ix. 741).

²⁰ After *signa* (vs. 740) he does indeed lighten the once traditional full stop by writing a semicolon. But if he conceives of the next verses as introducing any sort of subordinate forward-moving clause (which necessarily would be attached to what precedes), he should write a comma in order to be clear. After *hostes* (vs. 741) he has no stop at all.

Both Duff and Bourguery translate or paraphrase with curious disregard for the punctuation they adopt for the Latin text. The former has no mark at all after *hostes* (vs. 741), but in his rendering he makes a full stop at that point. The latter has a comma after *signa* (vs. 740), but his translation begins the following clause with a capital, just as though a period had preceded.

²¹ See the notes in Usener and Endt; cf. also that of Lemaire.

ment offers a slight variation of this idea: "He implies that the senators who have submitted to Caesar are the real exiles."²²

The interpretation of this passage has perhaps been compromised somewhat by the conventional punctuation. In almost every case a full stop is placed after *fugavit* (vs. 33). Housman, however, uses a colon, and this may be looking in the right direction; for, as shown elsewhere,²³ Lucan is inordinately fond of developing an idea in parallel phrases, and it is quite possible that this was his intention here.

Thus, it is the sense of the first phrase (vss. 32-33) that the Curia at Rome sees assembled only those senators who had been expelled previous to Caesar's coming, while verse 34 may be said to bring out the other aspect of the situation in the claim that all senators in good standing are attending the meeting in Epirus.

Looked at in this way, it would seem the proper procedure to seek an explanation of *exulat* in *plena quos urbe fugavit* of the balancing phrase (vs. 33). On that basis, Lentulus would imply that expelled senators who have returned to Rome with no warrant other than Caesar's invitation or approval are, legally considered, still "exiles": "Yonder Curia sees assembled only those senators whom the senate banished before we left; except for these [*de facto*] exiles the full force of our great order is here."²⁴

VI

- Et clipeum laevae fulvo dedit²⁵ aere nitentem
 670 In quo saxificam iussit spectare Medusam,
 Quam sopor aeternam tracturus morte quietem
 Obruit haud totam: vigilat pars magna comarum,
 Defenduntque caput protenti crinibus hydri;
 Pars iacet in medios voltus oculique tenebras.
 675 Ipsa regit trepidum Pallas dextraque trementem
 Perseos aversi Cyllenida derigit harpen
 Lata colubriferi rumpens confinia colli [ix. 669 ff.].

²² Footnote 1 on his translation, p. 240. See also the scholiast as reported by Weber on vs. 34, and Haskins *ad loc.*

²³ *American Journal of Philology*, LII (1931), 51 ff.; "University of California Publications in Classical Philology," XI (1931-32), 125, 137, 253.

²⁴ For "be an exile" in the rather technical sense here assumed for *exulare*, cf. the use of *servire* with the force of *servus esse* in Plautus *MG* 1356. So *imperare* in the sense of *imperator esse*, e.g., in Tacitus *Hist.* i 49. 8, where it is said of Galba: "Et omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset."

²⁵ Pallas is referred to.

So the poet describes the cutting-off of Medusa's head by Perseus. There has been much discussion as to the meaning of *oculique tenebras* (vs. 674).

Some of the older commentators hold that the reference is to an empty eye-socket. So Ascensius: "In locum oculi exsecti."²⁶ If by this it is meant that Perseus destroyed one of Medusa's eyes, such interpretation does not accord at all with Lucan's account here. Perseus has to proceed with averted face; and he is in trembling haste to sever the neck of the monster. He would not think of risking a preliminary wound that would waken the victim.

The scholiast and Sulpitius²⁷ perhaps associate Medusa with the two Phorcydes mentioned by Ovid.²⁸ The former speaks of three sisters possessing a single eye in common, which they use in turn. The attack upon Medusa, then, would be at a moment when her eye-socket was empty. Housman remarks pertinently that in verse 680 the head of Medusa is spoken of as if with two eyes; and he adds that he cannot find in the monuments any representation of Medusa as one-eyed.

The most common understanding of the phrase *oculi . . . tenebras* is that it refers to the darkness that comes with closing the eyes in sleep.²⁹ This is not impossible, although it seems rather strained, and there may be room for still another point of view.

The brow and the nose normally leave the eye in a sheltered hollow.³⁰ This appears clearly in amateur photography; even in a strong light the eyes often do not "take," and the film at that point merely registers a blank. Compare, too, the comment of Silius Italicus on the weary victims of the plague:

Lumina, ferre gravem vix sufficientia lucem,
Unca nare³¹ iacent [xiv. 603 ff.].

²⁶ Cited in Oudendorp's note *ad loc.*

²⁷ Cited *ibid.*; see also the scholiast as reported by Weber.

²⁸ *Met.* iv. 774 ff.

²⁹ Cf. the notes of Oudendorp, Farnabius, Weise, Lemaire, and Haskins.

³⁰ See Dickens, *Hard Times*, chap. i: "The emphasis was helped by the speaker's square wall of a forehead, which had his eyebrows for its base, while his eyes found commodious cellarage in two dark caves, overshadowed by the wall."

³¹ Which serves as a projecting wall; see the "University of California Publications in Classical Philology," XI (1933), 283.

Perhaps, then, in the use of the phrase *oculique tenebras* Lucan meant to say "and the shadowy depression of the eye." This interpretation minimizes the difficulty which some of the editors have felt in fact that the singular *oculi* is here used.³²

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

³² Housman is so offended by the employment of the singular that he adopts the less well-attested *oculis*, and manufactures and inserts a line to bear out this reading.

Bourgery and Ponchont render "ses yeux obscuris," meaning perhaps that *tenebras* is proleptic. This would be more likely if the plural *oculorum* had been written.

HERODOTUS ON THE SOURCE OF THE DANUBE

BY LIONEL PEARSON

IT IS the normal rule of Herodotus, when he is writing on points of geography, not to make definite statements about regions of which his knowledge is worse than secondhand. With regard to Western Europe he makes his attitude perfectly clear in iii. 115, when he refuses to believe definitely in the Eridanus or the Tin Islands, saying that he has not been able to obtain the authoritative statement of an eyewitness that there is an ocean on the farther side of Europe. Since he says at the beginning of this chapter that he cannot commit himself to a definite statement about the western extremes of Europe, it is surprising to find that he regards the source of the Ister or Danube, which according to him rises in the extreme west of Europe, as something certain. It is useless to argue that one must not press the consistency of Herodotus too far; lapses from consistency on the part of any author may prove instructive.

His remarks on the Ister are quite definite and consistent. In iv. 49, after enumerating its tributaries, he says: "The Ister flows right across Europe, rising in the country of the Celts, who live farthest to the west of any people in Europe except for the Cynetes [*μετὰ Κύνητας*]. After flowing right across Europe it flows on to the flanks of Scythia." And in ii. 33 he mentions his theory that the Nile and the Ister are African and European counterparts:

The Nile has its sources in Libya, and its stream cuts across the middle of Libya; and, as I imagine, deducing the uncertain from the certain, it rises on the same degree of longitude as the Ister [*τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐκ τῶν ἴσων μέτρων ὁρμᾶται*]; because the river Ister, rising in the country of the Celts, beginning from the city of Pyrene, cuts Europe in half with its stream. Now the Celts live outside the Pillars of Heracles, and are neighbors of the Cynesii [*ὁμοῦρέουσι δὲ Κυνησίοις*], the most westerly of all the inhabitants of Europe. The Ister, after flowing right across Europe, finally reaches the Euxine Sea, where the colonists from Miletus have settled in the city of Istria. Since it flows through inhabited country, the Ister is well known to many, but about the sources of the Nile no one can say anything; because the country of Libya through which it flows is uninhabited and desert.

The similarity of the phrasing used in the two passages suggests that in each case he has in mind the same source of information. His use of the form *Kύνητες* in one case and *Κυνήσιοι* in the other constitutes no obstacle to this; it may be that in one or both cases he is quoting from memory, or that both forms were used indiscriminately in his time.

In the second passage (ii. 33) Herodotus insists that the course of the Danube is familiar to many people: "It flows through inhabited country, and is well known to many"; and in making his guess about the parallelism of Nile and Danube he says he is "deducing the uncertain from the certain." His confidence that he is on sure ground makes it seem likely that when he places the source of the Danube in Pyrene, west of the Pillars of Heracles, his statement is due to some misunderstanding rather than to the ignorance of his informant.¹

Herodotus has so little to say about Western Europe that it is scarcely accurate to speak of his being indebted for information about it to Hecataeus or any other writer. But to judge from his attacks on makers of maps and people who believed in the existence of an ocean to the north and west of Europe,² it seems certain that he had read the portion of Hecataeus' *Γῆς Περίοδος* which dealt with these regions. Unfortunately no fragment of Hecataeus survives mentioning either Pyrene or the source of the Ister. But Stephanus of Byzantium quotes his authority for calling more than one city "Celtic." He mentions Massalia as a *πόλις τῆς Λιγυστικῆς κατὰ τὴν Κελτικὴν* and quotes Hecataeus for this description;³ and after describing Narbo as an *ἐμπόριον καὶ πόλις Κελτική* he first quotes Strabo and then says that Hecataeus called its inhabitants *Ναρβαῖοι*.⁴ The city of *Νύραξ* described as *Κελτική*⁵ is unknown, so that the argument must be confined to the fragments about Massalia and Narbo. There is, however, no authority to show that Hecataeus called any city "Celtic" which was west of Nar-

¹ Note that his decision to place the source of the Danube opposite the source of the Nile is the result of a deduction; he has not taken this point from an earlier writer.

² iv. 36; ii. 23; iii. 115; iv. 8.

³ Steph. Byz. s. v. *Μασσαλία*. *πόλις τῆς Λιγυστικῆς κατὰ τὴν Κελτικὴν*. *ἄποικος Φωκαέων*. 'Εκαταῖος *Εὐρώπῃ* (Jacoby, *Fr. Gr. Hist.*, 1 F.55; Müller, *FHG: Hecataeus* 22).

⁴ Steph. Byz. s. v. *Νάρβων*. *ἐμπόριον καὶ πόλις Κελτική*. *Στράβων δ'* (i. 6). *Μαρκίανος δὲ Ναρβωνσίαν αὐτὴν φησι*. *τὸ ἔθνηκὸν Ναρβωνίτης*. . . . 'Εκαταῖος δὲ *Ναρβαίους* αὐτοὺς φησι (Jacoby, 54; Müller, 19).

⁵ Steph. Byz. s. v. *Νύραξ*. *πόλις Κελτική*. 'Εκαταῖος *Εὐρώπῃ* (Jacoby, 56; Müller, 21).

bonne. Stephanus quotes his authority for the names of fourteen towns in Spain,⁶ and not one is called "Celtic." On the other hand, he may have extended Celtic territory farther east than Marseilles; there is some evidence at least that Ephorus extended it as far as "the sea by Sardinia."⁷

We cannot tell how far to the north Hecataeus supposed this Celtic territory to extend, but there is nothing to show that he drew the line farther south than the actual source of the Danube at Donaueschingen in the Black Forest.⁸ If he maintained that the Celts extended as far east as Genoa and three hundred miles to the north of it, a statement by him that the Danube rose in the country of the Celts would imply correct information about its source. Certainly the confidence with which Herodotus speaks of the Danube does not suggest that the place of its source was unknown to the logographers; and it is extremely likely that Hecataeus spoke of it confidently as ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν. The difficulty is to decide how such a statement became perverted into what Herodotus says.

Now the logographers' system of the rivers of Western Europe was not complete without the Eridanus. Against this river Herodotus set his face quite firmly, saying that its very name betrays it as the invention of some Greek poet.⁹ But the name Eridanus was applied by different ancient authors to different rivers. Since in this passage Herodotus is talking about the western extremes of Europe, a reference to

⁶ Jacoby, 38, 39, 41-52; Müller, 3, 4, 6, 8-18.

⁷ Ephorus (Müller, frag. 38) says that the Indians, Celts, Scythians, and Ethiopians are the four boundary tribes of the world. Pseudo-Scymnus is therefore probably following him in these lines:

Ταρτησσὸς ἐπιφανὴς πόλις,
ποταμόρρυντον κασσίτερον ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς
χρυσὸν τε καὶ χαλκὸν φέρονσα πλείονα.
ἔπειτα χώρα Κελτικὴ καλουμένη,
μέχρι τῆς θαλάττης τῆς περὶ Σαρδῶν κειμένης,
ὅπερ μέγιστόν ἐστι πρὸς δυσμαῖς ἔθνος.
τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀνατολῶν πᾶσαν σχεδὸν
οικοῦσιν Ἴνδοι, τὴν δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν
Αἰθίοπες ἐγγὺς κείμενοι νότον πνοῆς.
τὸν ἀπὸ ζεφύρου Κελτοὶ δὲ μέχρι δυσμῶν τόπον
θερινῶν ἔχουσι, τὸν δὲ πρὸς βορρᾶν Σκῖθαι.

That Celtic peoples at this time did actually inhabit the Black Forest region is maintained decisively by Müllenhof, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, Vol. II.

⁹ iii. 115.

the Rhine or even the Rhone is most likely. A theory that the Danube rose in the extreme west would make it difficult for Herodotus to believe in the existence of either of these rivers, though he knew about Marseilles and the Ligurians to the north of it,¹⁰ and probably heard about the Rhone when he was in Thurii.¹¹ How and Wells (note on Herodotus ii. 33) suggest that the Rhone was looked upon as a southern offshoot of the Danube. This was very likely the view held by people who followed Herodotus in believing that the Danube rose in the extreme west. Apollonius Rhodius is evidently hinting at or giving a parody of such a view when he makes one branch of the Ister enter the Adriatic.¹² Some geographers did actually maintain that a branch of the Danube flowed into this sea.¹³

It is possible that a confusion between river and trade-route made the Eridanus harder for Herodotus to accept. All that he tells us about the Eridanus is that it was supposed to be a river flowing into the northern sea from which the amber came. It is accordingly taken by some critics as the Vistula, but amber is found near the mouths of large rivers farther west than Danzig. There certainly was an amber trade-route from the mouth of some northern river—that is, from some point on the Baltic or North Sea—to the Mediterranean; the first stage of this route was by water and the last stage was down the Rhone or the Po.¹⁴ Herodotus may have been told that the whole of the route was by water, and he would not be ready to believe this.

If, however, the Eridanus of those geographers whom Herodotus knew was either the Rhine or the Rhone, its existence would be hard to reconcile with the Danube rising in the extreme west. The probability is that Herodotus disbelieved in both the Rhine and the Rhone, regarding the evidence for the source of the Danube as more certain than the evidence for the existence of either of these rivers.

¹⁰ v. 9.

¹¹ Macan touches on this point (I [Introd.], xcix): "It may also be fairly asked whether the statements and theory of Herodotus respecting the Danube are not coloured by western information, startling as it may seem to find the Danube, in his pages, pursuing a course which silently intersects the actual course of the Rhone."

¹² Ap. Rhod. iv. 282-94, 309-13.

¹³ E.g., Scylax, l. 21; Ps.-Scymnus, l. 776; cf. Diodorus, iv. 56. The article of R. Hennig (*Rhein. Mus.*, 1933, p. 204) is not convincing in its attempt to prove that the source of the Save was confused with the mouth of the Danube.

¹⁴ Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, II, 295, s.v. *Bernstein*, where the various alternative views are set forth.

Let us suppose Hecataeus said without further qualification that the Ister began ἐκ Κελτῶν; how could such a statement be perverted into what Herodotus says? It is possible to arrive at an explanation if we assume that Hecataeus had correct information on this point, but was not accurate in other details. The explanation cannot be proved correct; but it fits in with such facts as are known, and does not assume either excessive accuracy or excessive ignorance on the part of any ancient writer.

Assuming that Hecataeus described the place of the Danube's source as "in Celtic country," and that he knew approximately where it was, he did not put it farther west than Marseilles. This, however, does not tell us what he believed to be the position of Marseilles or Narbonne relative to Gibraltar, or in what direction he believed that the eastern coast of Spain ran. The remarkable ideas of Tacitus about the position of Spain relative to Britain¹⁵ should prepare us for ideas no less remarkable on the part of Hecataeus about the position of Spain relative to the southern French coast. It is very improbable that Herodotus invented the theory of the Celts being the most westerly European people except for the Cynetes, and living outside the Pillars of Heracles. He must have found it in some earlier writer.¹⁶ If Hecataeus made such a statement, to judge by the places he calls Celtic, he must have thought that Narbonne was on the same degree of longitude as Gibraltar, or even farther west. He could have arrived at this conclusion apart from any false reports given him, working on the basis that the distance by coast from the Straits of Messina to Narbonne was actually greater than the distance along the African coast from the Straits of Messina to Tangier. He may have supposed that the coast from Italy to Narbonne ran nearly in a straight line; and, in that case, to account for the distance of Genoa from the African coast (assuming that he knew approximately how great it was), he would have supposed that the African coast line from Tunis to Tangier was concave. In fact, if he had known where the Danube rises, and nevertheless thought Narbonne was farther west than Gibraltar, his

¹⁵ *Agric.* 10.

¹⁶ Hauvette ("La géographie d'Hérodote," *Revue de philologie* [N.S.], XIII [1889], 19) thinks that in saying the Celts are outside the Pillars of Heracles, Herodotus "entend seulement par ces mots qu'on arrive chez eux par mer en passant par les colonnes d'Héracle."

idea of the western Mediterranean must have been something like Figure 1.

J. L. Myres (*Geographical Journal*, 1896) suggests that this distortion of the northern Mediterranean coast may have been carried even farther by some Ionian geographers. He maintains—indeed he claims to prove—that the “Western Mediterranean was first regularly trav-

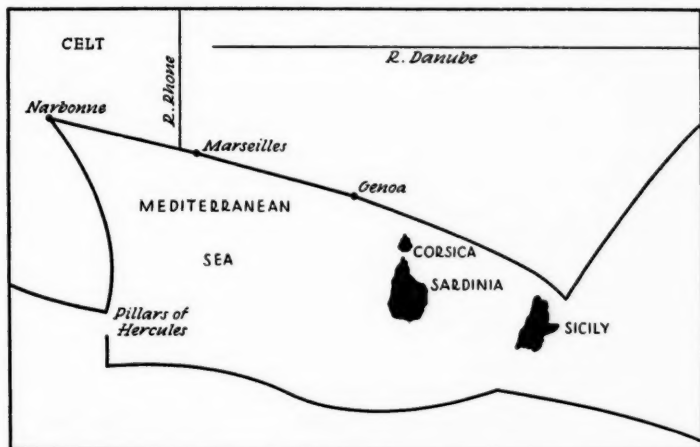


FIG. 1

ersed and surveyed on the line from Messina to Massilia, and that this tended to be regarded as equatorial.”

Since it is a fact that the coast line on the Barcelona side of Narbonne runs practically due south for over fifty miles, Hecataeus had some excuse for not knowing the actual relation of Gibraltar to Narbonne. We have no evidence that he ever went to Spain; Herodotus certainly did not think he had ever penetrated to the Atlantic, because he did not believe in its existence.

There is a tradition that Hecataeus drew a map to illustrate his *Γῆς Περίοδος*. The famous remark of Herodotus in iv. 36,¹⁷ where he expresses his scorn for those who drew the world as though it were a per-

¹⁷ γελῶ δὲ ὁρέων γῆς περιόδους γράψαντας πολλοὺς ἤδη καὶ οὐδένα νοονεχόντως ἐξηγησάμενον, οἱ Ἴκκεανόν τε βέοντα γράφουσι περίξ τὴν γῆν ἐοῦσαν κυκλοτερέα ὥς ἀπὸ τόνου, καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ποιούντων ἴσην.

fect circle, certainly suggests it. More decided information is given by Agathemerus (*Geographiae informatio* i. 1):

Anaximander the Milesian was the first who dared draw a map of the world on a tablet. After him Hecataeus of Miletus, a much travelled man, went into such detail as to excite great astonishment. Hellanicus of Lesbos, that very learned man, did not illustrate his history with any map.¹⁸

Similar information is given by the scholiast on Dionysius Periegetes.¹⁹ Strabo gives the same account on the authority of Eratosthenes:

For the present, to show that Homer was the first geographer, what I have said must be taken as sufficient proof. But there were other famous men who followed in his footsteps, important men, intimately acquainted with philosophy, of whom the first after Homer, according to Eratosthenes, were Anaximander, the friend of Thales, and Hecataeus the Milesian; the former of them, he says, was the first to publish a geographical map [*γεωγραφικὸν πῖνακα*], whilst Hecataeus left behind him a diagram or map [*γράμμα*] thought to be his on account of his other writings.²⁰

It seems, then, that Hecataeus drew a map to illustrate his *Γῆς Περίοδος*. If this map represented the western Mediterranean as was suggested above, Herodotus would be doing no more than follow Hecataeus exactly in saying that the Danube rose in the country of the Celts, who were the most westerly people in Europe except for one other nation.

But what of Pyrene and the Cynetes or Cynesii? The credit for identifying Pyrene with the Pyrenees Mountains, and so, as it were, "perfecting" the misstatements of Herodotus, goes to Aristotle.²¹

¹⁸ See Jacoby T 12a. The final remark, ἀπλάστως παρέδωκε τὴν ἱστορίαν, seems to mean "wrote without illustrations or maps."

¹⁹ *τινὲς πρότερον ἐν πίνακι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐγράψαν; πρῶτος Ἀναξίμανδρος, δεύτερος Μιλήσιος Ἑκαταῖος, τρίτος Δημόκριτος, Θαλοῦ μαθητής, τέταρτος Εὐδόξος* (Jacoby, T 12b; Müller, *Geog. Gr. Min.*, II, 348).

²⁰ i. 1. 11; see Jacoby, T 11b. There is some disagreement about the meaning of the word *γράμμα* in this passage. Müller (*op. cit.*, I, p. xii) suggested it might mean *orbis terrarum delineatio*, and though his suggestion has found scarcely any supporters, I am convinced it is right. Surely the meaning of the sentence is that Hecataeus' *Γῆς Περίοδος*—or at least the original text of it—was illustrated by a map, and there was some doubt as to whether or not Hecataeus had designed it himself. There were probably not so many copies of the map as there were of the written work.

²¹ *Meteor.* i. 13. 350b: ἐκ δὲ τῆς Πυρήνης (τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ὕρος, πρὸς δυσμὴν ἰσημερινὴν ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ) ῥέουσιν ὁ τε Ἰστρος καὶ ὁ Ταρτησσός, οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἐξω σπηλέων, ὁ δὲ Ἰστρος δι' ὅλης τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς Εὐξείνου πόντον. For Heide!s transposition of the words πρὸς δυσμὴν ἰσημερινὴν see Fobes's edition of the *Meteorologica*.

There is, however, a corrupt passage in the *Periplus* of Avienus, which suggests that Aristotle is not on the right track. The lines in Avienus are as follows:

In Sordiceni caespitis confinio
 ÷ quondam Pyrenae latera civitas ditis laris ÷
 stetisse fertur. Hicque Massaliae incolae
 negotiorum saepe versabant vices [ll. 558-61].

The common way of treating line 559, which has a foot too many, is simply to delete *latera* as a gloss on *Pyrenae*; evidence is then obtained for the one-time existence of a city called Pyrene. But G. F. Unger²² refused to admit the evidence for such a city's existence (for the name occurs nowhere else except in Herodotus), and instead of deleting *latera* he suggested that the seven-foot line was a relic of two whole lines, and proposed to read:

quondam Pyrenae latera iuxta et insulam
 alte tumentem civitas ditis laris.²³

He suggests that Avienus was really referring to the city of Emporiae (mentioned by Strabo iii. 4 [p. 160]), which he identifies with the modern Ampurias, near the Franco-Spanish frontier.

The lines of Avienus which immediately follow on the foregoing passage are more illuminating for our purpose:

Sed in Pyrenen ab columnis Herculis
 Atlanticoque gurgite et confinio
 Zephyridis orae, cursus est celeri rati
 septem dierum. Post Pyrenaeum iugum
 iacent arenae litoris Cynetici.
 Easque late sulcat amnis Roschinus.
 Hoc Sordicena, ut diximus, glebae solum est.

This placing of the "Sordones," as they were more commonly called, is quite orthodox,²⁴ but the position of the Cynetes is interesting. Herodotus in ii. 33 and iv. 49 reckons them as the most westerly people in Europe, and modern writers have allotted them territory in ac-

²² "Der Periplus des Avienus," *Philologus*, Supplementband IV, 120.

²³ Jacoby rejects this suggestion quite definitely; his sole comment on the Avienus passage is to print "Massaliae(!)."

²⁴ See Pliny 3, 4, 5, 32 Jan.; Mela 2, 5, *fin.*

cordance with this statement;²⁵ indeed, Avienus himself, earlier in his poem, puts them on the river Guadiana (ll. 201 ff.).²⁶ The apparent confusion of Avienus about them is easily explained if we suppose that in line 201 he is deliberately following Herodotus, and in line 556 is following some earlier geographer. But if Herodotus and Hecataeus (as has been suggested above) supposed that the Pyrenees were farther west than the Pillars of Heracles, they would have placed the Cynetes near these mountains; and Avienus is really representing their view more accurately in line 556 than in line 201; he may not have realized it himself, but only remembered how Herodotus called the Cynetes the most westerly people in Europe.

To the east of the Cynetes are the Celti, and we know where Hecataeus put them; and if he said that the Danube rose in their country, he could not also have said that it rose in the Pyrenees. He might, on the other hand, have said that it rose in Pyrene, if by that word he meant not the Pyrenees, but some city in the "Celtic" territory. It was at one time held that since the Danube originates in two streams, Brigen and Pregen, these names might be connected with Pyrene.²⁷ But the theory of Bergk is more attractive.²⁸ He thinks that Pyrene was the name given to the southern Black Forest by the Iberians, or at least the name that it held when the Iberians inhabited that region; and that when the Iberians were driven westward by the Celts, they took the name Pyrene with them to the mountains between France and Spain, and the Black Forest received a fresh, Celtic, name. Probably not much importance can be attached to the mention by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxviii. 2. 5) of a *mons Piri*, traditionally identified with the *heiliger Berg* near Heidelberg; but the theory that Pyrene was the name of the Black Forest before the Iberians were driven out of it is very plausible. It may be that Hecataeus took the name as applying to the Black Forest; that Herodotus was not very clear where it was;

²⁵ Cf. Kiepert's *Atlas Antiquus*, small map of "Provinciae Carthaginiensibus subdivisae" (Tab. X). Stein (note on Hdt. iv. 49) suggests that they lived on the Pyrenean peninsula.

²⁶ Unger (*op. cit.*) will not accept the reading "Cynetici" in l. 556. He thinks it is a corruption from ROSCYNICI: ROS changed into RIS, lost after LITORIS; CYNICI then expanded, *metri gratia*, into CYNETICI.

²⁷ See Wheeler, *The Geography of Herodotus*, p. 175 n.

²⁸ Bergk, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, IV, 272-74.

but that in the time of Aristotle its connection with any other place than the Pyrenees Mountains was completely forgotten.

The other views held in the time of Herodotus about the source of the Danube, such as are recorded by Pindar and Aeschylus, quite evidently rest on no geographical knowledge; they simply represent the popular view when they make the Danube flow from the far north, from the Hyperboreans and Rhipaeian Mountains.²⁹ De Jubainville,³⁰ arguing from the identification in later writers of the Rhipaeians with the Alps,³¹ tried to show that the popular view was not so far wrong as has usually been thought, and that it originated from actually correct geographical information. But the evidence of these later writers whom he quotes is of no value. They are simply trying to justify the old popular view; their statements are mere conjectures. Moreover, Pindar very decidedly conceives of the Ister as flowing from the north, while Hecataeus, by speaking of certain tribes living "to the south of the Ister,"³² shows his own conviction that its course was from west to east. Indeed, the view of Hecataeus about the Danube has no relation to the popular view, which invented mountains where the sources of the rivers flowing into the Black Sea might be placed. Hecataeus evidently knew much more than those who held the view recorded by Pindar and Aeschylus; and it is for this reason that the statements of Herodotus about the Danube are more probably misrepresentations of a correct view than records of ignorance.

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY
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²⁹ Aesch., frag. 197 (Nauck); scholiast on Ap. Rhod. 284: τὸν Ἰστρον φησὶν ἐκ τῶν Ὑπερβορέων καταφέρεισθαι καὶ τῶν Ῥιπαίων ὄρων. οὕτω δὲ εἶπεν ἀκολουθῶν Αἰσχύλῳ ἐν Λυσίμην Προμηθεὺς λέγοντι τοῦτο (thus Aeschylus made the Ister flow from the north); Pindar *Ol.* iii. 14 ff., where Heracles brings the olive from "the shady sources of the Ister, in the country of the Hyperboreans"; and *ibid.*, viii. 46 ff., where Apollo goes to the Ister after finishing the wall of Troy, the Hyperboreans being famed for their devotion to Apollo.

³⁰ "La source du Danube chez Hérodote," *Revue archéologique* (3d ser.), Vol. XII (1888).

³¹ *Athenaeus* vi. 233d. Posidonius (schol. on Ap. Rhod. ii. 677) makes the Hyperboreans live in the Alps.

³² Jacoby, frags. 170 and 171: Κρόβυζοι. ἔθνος πρὸς νότον ἀνέμου τοῦ Ἰστρον. Ἑκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ (Steph. Byz.). Τρίζοι. ἔθνος πρὸς νότον τοῦ Ἰστρον. Ἑκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ (*idem*).

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

CRITICAL NOTES ON ARCHIPPUS, PHRYNICHUS, CALLIAS, AND ARISTOPHANES

ARCHIPPUS, FRAG. 6 D

Πειθοῦς γὰρ οὐκ ἦν οὔτε βωμὸς οὔτε πῦρ,
οὔτ' ἐν γυναιξὶν οὔτ' ἐν ἀνδράσι φύσει.

Demiańczuk compares Monostich 560 (Meineke iv. 355): ὥς ἐστ' ἄπιστος ἡ γυναικεία φύσις, and Euripides *Andromache* 956: χρεῶν/κοσμεῖν γυναῖκας τὰς γυναικείας νόσους.¹ But the fragment is apparently a parody of Euripides *Antigone*, N², fragment 170:

οὐκ ἐστὶ Πειθοῦς ἱερὸν ἄλλο πλὴν λόγος,
καὶ βωμὸς αὐτῆς ἐστ' ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει.

Compare Aeschylus, *Niobe*, N², fragment 161:

μόνος θεῶν γὰρ θάνατος οὐ δῶρων ἐρᾷ,
οὐδ' ἂν τι θύων οὐδ' ἐπισπένδων ἄνοις,
οὐδ' ἐστὶ βωμὸς οὐδὲ παιωνίζεται·
μόνου δὲ Πειθῶ δαιμόνων ἀποστατεῖ.²

The fragment of Archippus throws out Kock's conjecture of *φρενὶ* for *φύσει* in the Euripidean fragment.³ Although the passages of Archippus and Euripides are precisely opposite in meaning, the phraseology is too similar to leave much doubt that parody is intended; Archippus seems to be giving a sort of comic answer to Euripides, and hence in Archippus' fragment *φύσει* is probably to be understood *sensu obsceno*.⁴

Both the Euripidean and the Aeschylean fragments are referred to by Aristophanes in *Frogs* 1391–92. Archippus, a persistent imitator of Aristophanes, seems to have parodied or imitated the *Birds* and the *Plutus* in his *Fishes* and *Plutus*.⁵ The present fragment sounds like a conflation of the two tragic passages. Possibly Archippus had the Aristophanic passage in mind in this parody.

¹ So the MSS and most editions. Demiańczuk reads τὰς γυναικείους φύσεις. The reading *φύσεις* has the authority only of the Aldine edition and an adscript in B.

² With the Aeschylean passage, cf. Euripides *Alceste* 973–75, on 'Ανάγκη: μόνος δ' οὔτ' ἐπὶ βωμοῖς | ἐστὶν οὔτε βέτας θεῶς | ἐλθεῖν, κτλ.

³ In his edition of Aristophanes' *Frogs*, on vs. 1391.

⁴ Cf. AP v. 45.

⁵ Cf. Kaibel, "Zur attischen Komödie," *Hermes*, XXIV (1889), 42–56; Radermacher, however, does not believe that the *Fishes* parodied the *Birds* (Aristophanes' "Frösche," p. 44).

PHRYNICHUS, FRAG. 20 K

μεγάλους πιθήκους (οἷδ') ἐτέρους τινὰς λέγειν,
 Λυκίαν, Τελέαν, Πείσανδρον, Ἐξηκестίδην.
 B: (ἀνωμάλους)⁸ εἶπας πιθήκους — — —
 ὁ μὲν γε(δειλός), ὁ δὲ κόλαξ, ὁ δὲ (ξένος,
 ὁ δὲ) νόθος.

So the fragment reads, as emended by Meineke and Dobree. Various attempts have been made to fill the gap in verse 3. Bergk, who gives οἷδ' ἐτέρους, κτλ. to B, proposes A: ἀνωμάλως εἶπας πιθήκους (B: πῶς; A: ὅπως;), κτλ.,⁷ which is mere padding; Meineke suggests νῆ Δία;⁸ Bothe, who gives the line as (σὺ δ') ἀνομάλους εἶπας (σὺ) πιθήκους, suggests A: τι δ'; B: οἷδ' ὁ ἀπιθά-
 νους;⁹ van Leeuwen, who practically re-writes the whole fragment, gives ἀνω-
 μάλους εἶπας πιθήκους (καὶ κακοῦς).¹⁰ Best of all is Blaydes' εἰσι γάρ.¹¹ But a
 genitive seems to be demanded by the distribution of δειλός, κόλαξ, κτλ., as
 well as a causal particle by the sense. I would therefore read τῶνδε γάρ.

Observe that ἀνωμάλους does not agree with πιθήκους, as Liddell and Scott take it, but with ἐτέρους understood, or with a pronoun agreeing with ἐτέρους. One must not, therefore, emend to ἀνωμάλως and translate, "You call them apes anomalously [i.e., your term is not adequate]; for one of them is a coward, etc." The passage means "It is an anomalous group of men [i.e., a group characterized by *different* kinds of κακία] whom you call [by one and the same generic name] monkeys." The emendations of Bergk and Blaydes show that they understood this; yet even the new edition of Liddell and Scott takes ἀνωμάλους and πιθήκους together.¹²

PHRYNICHUS, FRAG. 9 K

ἀνὴρ χορεύει καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καλά.
 βούλει Διοπίθῃ μεταδράμω καὶ τύμπανῳ;

So Kock; in his supplement he observes, "fortasse B βούλει κτλ."¹³ This

⁶ MS ἀνο-. The emendation is certain.

⁷ *De reliquiis comoediae atticae antiquae* (Lipsiae, 1838), p. 373.

⁸ ii. 588 (frag. 2).

⁹ *Ap. J. W. White, Scholia on the Aves* (Boston, 1914), p. 14.

¹⁰ In his note on Aristophanes *Birds* 11.

¹¹ *Ap. White, loc. cit.*

¹² Nor is Liddell and Scott's definition "capricious" satisfactory; it is inadequate and etymologically objectionable. ἀνώμαλος always bears the meaning "unequal" or "irregular." In all the examples they adduce, this meaning is fundamental, as in the present passage, and, e.g., in *AP* x. 96. 3-5, καὶ ρέει' ἀπιστον τῆς ἀνωμάλου Τύχης, | πῶς τοὺς πένητας πλουσίους ἐργαζέται, | καὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας χρημάτων ἀποστερεῖ, as the context clearly shows; similarly Arrian *Λιβ.* 59, χαλπώτερον δ' οὐδὲν ἀφειδίας ἐν μάχαις, ἐν αἷς καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀνώμαλον καὶ ἐπιφθονὸν ἐστίν; and so with the other examples. Their other definition, "inconsistent," is better, although still inadequate. The best definition is Dindorf's in the *Thesaurus*: *inaequalis*.

¹³ iii, p. 720.

seems certain. The lack of connectives is notable, and the passage would be more pointed as dialogue. We should then have a speaker with a "straight" part, and a buffoon as his interlocutor; a favorite comic method; especially in the *άγων*, but also used in the scenes in trimeters; cf. Phrynichus (frag. 20) quoted above.

ARISTOPHANES *Birds* 347-48

ὥς δὲ τῶδ' οἰώσκειν ἄμφω

καὶ δοῦναι ῥύχει φορβάν.

SCHOL. 348: παρὰ τὸ Εὐριπίδου ἐξ

'Ἀνδρομέδας' 'ἐκθῆναι κῆτει φορβάν'

[N², frag. 121], ὥς 'Ἀσκληπιάδης φησί, τὰ (ἐκ τῆς)

μηδέπω διδαχθείσης τραγωδίας παρατιθέμενος, κτλ.

Nauck on fragment 121: "Asclepiades in chronologia erravit nec tamen effinxisse locum Andromedae putandus erit; fortasse Euripides Sophoclem imitatus est; cuius locum parodia expresserit Aristophanes." I believe that Nauck's or a similar opinion is correct, and present the following passages, in confirmation.

Aristophanes *Thesmophoriazusae* 1033 (in admitted parody of Euripides' *Andromeda*, which was produced the year before), κῆτει βορά . . . πρόκειμαι. Cf. Aristophanes *Clouds* 555-56, προσθεῖς αὐτῷ γραῦν μεθύσῃν τοῦ κόρδακος οὐνεχ', ἣν | Φρύνιχος πάλαι πεποίηχ', ἣν τὸ κῆτος ἤσθιεν (Phrynichus, frag. 71 K). In verses 553 ff., Eupolis is accused of "tacking on" this motive (obviously parody of the story of *Andromeda*) in his *Maricas*, produced shortly after Cleon's death. The use of the word κῆτος in both the Aristophanic passages is notable.

Ameipsias *Connus* (produced with Aristophanes' first *Clouds*), fragment 8 K, ὀρφῶσι σελαχίοις τε καὶ φάγροις βορά. Strikingly similar is Plato Comicus *Cleophon* (produced with Aristophanes' *Frogs*), 56 K, σὲ γάρ, γραῦ, συγκατῶκισεν σαπρὰν | ὀρφῶσι σελαχίοις τε καὶ φάγροις βοράν, "risum movet, qui alium alteri poetam talia surripuisse credit" (Kock). But the resemblance is too remarkable to be thus cavalierly dismissed.¹⁴ Observe that βορά is used here as in *Thesmophoriazusae* 1033, and the fish enumerated are obviously a comic substitute for a marine monster. If we assume a parodic motive such as is suggested above, there need be no surprise at one poet's borrowing *talia* from another. The fragment from the *Cleophon* could, in point of time, be a parody of Euripides' *Andromeda*; but the close correspondence with the fragment of Ameipsias, which could not, seems to rule this out.

My conclusions, then, are as follows: In a tragedy, by Sophocles or some other poet, on the story of *Andromeda*, there occurred a verse describing *Andromeda* exposed as φορβή or βορά for a κῆτος. This verse was seized upon for parody by several comic poets, including Aristophanes in the *Birds*.

¹⁴ Cf. also Baker, "De comicis graecis litterarum iudiciis," *Harvard Studies*, XV (1904), 185-86.

Then Euripides used or adapted the line in his *Andromeda*, and Aristophanes parodied him in the *Thesmophoriazusae*. But the other comic fragments here brought together are to be explained as parody of the original motive.

DIOGENES LAERTIUS ii. 18

ἰδὼκει [Σωκράτης] δὲ συμποιεῖν
 Εὐριπίδῃ. ὅθεν Μνησίμαχος οὕτω φησί,
 Φρύγες ἐστὶ καινὸν δράμα τοῦτ' Εὐριπίδου,
 . . . ᾧ καὶ Σωκράτης
 τὰ φρύγαν' ὑποτίθησι.¹⁵
 καὶ πάλιν, 'Εὐριπίδας σωματογόμφους.'¹⁶
 καὶ Καλλίας Πεδήγται·
 τί δὴ σὺ (σεμνοῦ) καὶ φρονεῖς οὕτω μέγα;
 Β: ἔξεστι γὰρ μοι. Σωκράτης γὰρ αἴτιος.¹⁷

It has not, I believe, been remarked that, taking Diogenes' words at face value, Euripides almost certainly must have been the speaker of the part of B, and hence one of the characters in Callias' play. It has long been recognized that the Πεδήγται must have dealt with literary criticism;¹⁸ if, as this fragment seems to show, Euripides appeared in the play, we get some notion of the method. Even if the manuscript reading σεμνὴ in verse 1 of Callias' fragment is correct, Euripides may still be meant (cf. the similar jibes at Agathon and Euripides himself by Aristophanes).¹⁹ Or the Muse of Euripides may be meant (cf. Aristophanes *Frogs* 1304-8).

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MORE MARGINALIA ATTRIBUTED TO MELANCHTHON

As a sequel to my note, "Marginalia Attributed to Melanchthon" (*Classical Philology*, XXVIII [1933], 53-55), I have the following additional information to report.

Through the courtesy of Professor E. K. Rand, I learned that his friend, Mr. W. K. Richardson, of Boston, possesses a copy of the first Aldine edition of Vergil (1514) in which there are marginal notes attributed to Melanchthon. Mr. Richardson very generously sent the volume to Princeton for my examination and answered numerous questions about it. This copy has the four pages of errata, but lacks folio 32. It is in its original thin wooden binding, covered with black silk, with gilt-and-blue gauffered edges, and is kept in a modern wood and morocco case. The book was purchased by its present owner from the Hodgkin library, which was sold by Maggs Brothers in May, 1914. This library also possessed the two Homers mentioned in my earlier note as

¹⁵ Kock, i, p. 218.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Frag. 12 K.

¹⁸ Cf. frags. 11 and 13 K.

¹⁹ *Thesm.* 97 ff., 173-75.

now in the library of Mr. George A. Plimpton of New York City. Throughout the Vergil there are many marginal notes, a number of which are cross-references to the Aldine Homer. Several of these notes are signed with one or another of the following signatures: Φιλ., Φιλ.Μ., Φ.Μ., and Φιλ. Μελ., and it is upon the basis of these signatures that the attribution to Melanchthon rests.

That the marginalia are genuine specimens of Melanchthon's handwriting seems to me almost certainly true. The handwriting seems to be the same throughout the volume, and sufficiently similar to the well-authenticated specimens mentioned in the earlier note to justify the statement that they are by the same hand. Moreover, the cross-references to the Aldine Homer tend to substantiate the claim. None of the volumes which came to my notice in the preparation of the earlier article bore the signatures of Melanchthon, excepting, of course, the Plimpton Homers, the notes and dedication of which seemed to be authentic. Finally, an additional point in favor of accepting this volume is the fact that it did not belong to the Kloss collection and was not sold by Sotheby in 1835 as a Melanchthon item. On these grounds, therefore, I should have little hesitation in declaring the notes genuine, were it not for the fact that between the time of the sale and the date of the publication of Sotheby's volume of facsimiles of the handwriting of Luther and Melanchthon (1840) the volume had been acquired by Sotheby "from Messrs. Payne and Foss in whose possession I believe it had remained for many years," as he states in the volume of facsimiles (No. 116). The volume of facsimiles bears twenty-three specimens taken from the copy under consideration, including the quotation beginning "Nec vidisse semel satis est" and the curious drawing of the Molossian hound pursuing the stags (fol. 95: *Ad Aen.* iv. 145). Specimens 2, 9, 11, and 18 actually bear the signatures mentioned, and what appears to be the original drawing for the facsimiles is now among the papers included in the box which holds our Vergil. There is therefore no doubt that Sotheby owned this copy, and thus the attribution must be accepted with great caution. I suspected that the signatures might have been added by a forger, and examined them under the lens of a powerful microscope, but the ink and writing of both notes and signatures seemed to be identical, as far as could be determined from this investigation. Moreover, if a forger had added the signatures to the notes, it is more probable that he would have written the signatures in Latin rather than Greek characters, while Melanchthon himself would more likely have used the Greek characters, as he had adopted a name based on Greek roots to replace the Teutonic Schwarzerd. Thus, it seems improbable that the signatures are forgeries later than the notes to which they are added, and as the notes are in handwriting similar to the authenticated specimens, I think it almost certain that we have here Melanchthon's own copy of Vergil, which therefore must be of great value to those who treat exhaustively Melanchthon's contribution to Vergilian criticism.

Since I wrote my earlier article, I have succeeded in locating still another item from the Sotheby sale of the Kloss collection (London, 1835). This is an

edition of Caesar's *Commentaries*, printed by Zaratus in 1477. Inserted in the copy is a clipping from a sales catalogue attributing the volume to Melanchthon and a manuscript note says that the catalogue of the library of Dr. Kloss assigned the marginalia in this volume to the reformer. It is therefore clear that this volume is identical with that in the Kloss-Sotheby catalogue, described as follows: "962—Opera Omnia [i.e., of Caesar], edidit Petrus Justinus Philephus, cum indice Marliani Ed. V, prima cum indice Mediolani, Anton. Zaratus, 1477.—Melanchthon's copy, with marginal notes." While I have not examined this copy of the *Commentaries*, now in the Library of Congress, I have no doubt that it belongs to the same group as the Koberger Bible, the Princeton and Plimpton Vergils, and the New Jersey Livy, and is therefore probably not authentic.

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ODYSSEUS' BOW AND THE SCOLYTIDAE

Habent sua fata libelli, under which name must be included articles in learned periodicals. The substance of the following note was written some six years ago, forwarded to this journal, and then lost to all men's sight until an accident brought it back again from the portals of darkness. I do not, however, remember to have seen the matter raised by anyone else in the interval.

My friend Dr. A. Shewan¹ has expressed a doubt as to whether Odysseus' bow can have been of the composite type (composed of horn, sinew, and wood) whose existence in some Homeric passages at least has been sufficiently established by Dr. H. Balfour.² For Odysseus examines the weapon carefully (φ 395) to make sure that it has not been gnawed or eaten by *ιπες* in his absence. The word *ιψ*, at all events in Theophrastos³ and other authors, means some kind of boring insect or worm, a woodworm according to Hort's rendering of the *Historia plantarum* and the new edition of Liddell and Scott. Doubting that such creatures would gnaw horn, Dr. Shewan suggests that the *κέρα* which they might have attacked means the string of the bow, comparing the use of *κέρας* to mean hair,⁴ for of course a hair bowstring would be nothing surprising.

The question is partly zoölogical, partly one of exegesis. To my mind, the hair string may be dismissed with little ceremony. *κέρας* never means hair in general, but a particular way of dressing the hair; that it means a hair fishing-line in Ω 81, μ 253 strikes me as peculiarly unlikely, whatever the *Junggrammatiker*⁵ of antiquity may have fancied. Does any language in as healthy a

¹ *Class. Phil.*, XXII, 170 ff.

² *JRAI*, LI (1921), 289 ff.

³ *Hist. plant.* viii. 10. 5; *De caus. plant.* iii. 22. 5, where it is a grub attacking vines; further examples in the *Thesaurus*, s.u.

⁴ See the *lexica*, s.u.

⁵ cf *νέωρεποι*, schol. IL., loc cit.

condition as Homeric Greek say "lock," "curl," or "bun" for "hair" in general, especially when the hair is mentioned as the material of which something is composed, not as an ornament on the living head? But, apart from this, Odysseus had the best of evidence that the string was perfectly sound. Some fifty strong young men had tugged at it in trying to bring it up to its notch; if it had had the smallest weakness, it would have snapped during Telemachos' nearly successful efforts (ϕ 125 ff.) or in the hands of Eurymachos (ϕ 245 ff.), if not in Leodes' tender fingers (150). But the bow might well have had some small defect, not enough to show when it was but partly strained yet sufficient to make it untrustworthy when it was bent to the full.

As to the zoological point, my then colleague, Professor R. D. Laurie, of Aberystwyth, was good enough to get the opinion of Dr. E. E. Austen, of the entomological department of the British Museum. His verdict is clear enough. There are horn-eating larvae, notably *Tinea orientalis* (Stainton), which is too far away from Greece to concern us, being Indian; *T. vastella*, which is African, and not known to be Greek—although, even after the collapse of Minoan trade, it is not impossible that parcels of African horn, for the use of bowyers, may have been included among the *ἀθύρματα* carried by Phoenician traders like those in σ 415 and that these were infested, or the creature's range may have been wider in Homer's day—also some other species, not certainly to be found at the right time and place. But more to the purpose is the fact that a family of beetles, the Scolytidae (one genus of which, by a coincidence, is called *Ips* by modern zoölogists), might have infested the wooded part of the bow and, on reaching maturity, have made their way out through the horn. It is therefore tolerably safe to assume both a composite bow partly of horn and insects in Ithake which might conceivably have eaten it.

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CICERO PHILIPPICS ii. 91

In Cicero *Phil.* ii. 91, the reading of V is: "Quo quidem facto tantum te episse odium regni videbatur ut eius omen nomen propter proximum dictatoris metum tolleres."

This can be easily emended to give a somewhat unsatisfactory sense, in somewhat awkward phrasing. D, in fact, reads *omnem* for *omen nomen*, and *dictatorem* for *dictatoris*, which looks like the simplest possible emendation of V. Madvig (Praef., 4th ed.) argued forcibly that Cicero seems to have meant "ut propter eius [i.e., regni] metum, etiam proximum dictatoris nomen tolleres."

A. C. Clark (*Descent of Manuscripts*, chap. vi) suggests that back of V was a tricolonnar ancestor or ancestors, U, averaging seventeen letters to the line, the third column generally being a little narrower than the others, while

"in *Phil. II* there are some very short lines, e.g., of 15–16 letters." Possibly, then, an early manuscript in the succession U had, in the narrow third column, something like this:

	quo	
quidem	facto tantū	16
te	cepisse odium	14
regni	videbatur	14
ut	propter metum	14
eius	omnino nomen	15
proximū	dictatoris	17
tolleres.		

If then the line *ut propter metum* chanced to be omitted, and afterwards written into the narrow margin one word below the other, somewhat in this fashion:

regni	videbatur	ut
eius	omnino nomen	propter
proximū	dictatoris	metum

it would be quite easy for a later scribe, such as the writer of V, termed by Clark "an ignoramus, who wrote without understanding," to copy this in the order we find in V.

I suggest, then, that we should read: "quo quidem facto tantum te cepisse odium regni videbatur ut propter metum eius, omnino nomen proximum dictatoris tolleres" as giving the required sense, and doing less violence to Cicero's style than the alternative readings.

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LEX SACRA CYRENAICA

To judge from the editions I have seen, two restorations which are almost certainly wrong have become established in the text of the *lex sacra Cyrenaica*. I quote from Solmsen—Fraenkel, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad illustrandas dialectos selectae* (Leipzig, 1930), No. 39.

A 47 ff.: τῶν δὲ χρημά[τω]ν ἄς κα δεκατὰ ἡ ἐντόφιον οὐκ ἐνθῆσεῖ οὐδ[ὲ] ἐν <οἰδὲ ἐν>, κτλ. Little can be said for a restoration which obliges us to strike out as dittography what is actually on the stone. I propose οὐδ[ὲ] ἥς οἰδὲ ἐν (cf. IG, XIV, 645, I, ll. 135 f.: οὐ κοψεῖ δὲ τῶν δυνάρεων οὐδὲ θραυσεῖ οὐδὲ πρῶσεῖ οὐδὲ ἥς οὐδὲ ἐν, κτλ.).

B 11 ff.: ἃ δὲ κα μὴ κατένθη, [ἐπιθυ]σεῖ τῶν Ἀρτάμιτι ἃ ν[ομίζε]ται τοῖς Ἀρταμιτίοις. μὴ κατεληλε[υθὺ]α δὲ καθαρεῖ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἐπιθυσεῖ ἱ[αμίαν βοτὸν τέλεον]. The restoration [ἐπιθυ]σεῖ is at variance with the regular use of ἐπιθεῖν in this section to denote an additional, or later, offering following purification of the ἱερὸν. Where so much is restoration, nothing can be cer-

tain, but on the basis of the other restorations I propose [οὐ θύ]σεῖ, with a comma after the clause instead of a period. This gives a proper relation between *θύσεῖ* and *ἐπιθύσεῖ*, and we interpret: "But whosoever shall not go in, shall not offer to Artemis the sacrifice which is usual at the Artemisia, but, by reason of not having gone in, shall purify the temple and shall thereafter sacrifice by way of penalty a perfect (full-grown) victim."

Another reading can, I think, be improved. B 24 ff.: αἱ καὶ γυνὰ ἐγβάλη, αἱ μέγ καὶ διάδηλον ἦι, μαινόνται ὥσπερ ἀπὸ θανάτου, αἱ δὲ καὶ μὴ διάδηλον ἦι, μαινεται αὐτὰ ἡ οἰκία καθάπε[ρ] ἀπὸ λεχός. Here *οἰκία* is the family, the membership of the household, not the house, which is *δρόφος* (cf. A 16 f., and *στέγα* × *οἰκία* in the laws of Gortyna iii. 46; iv. 32 ff., 47; v. 26). Ferri's original reading *αὐτὰ* is preferable to *αὐτὰ*. If the fetus is fully formed, those persons are polluted who would have been polluted by a death; if not, the family only are polluted, as provided in the case of childbirth. The prescriptions to which reference is made are not extant; in A 16, if we accept the conjecture [λ]εχοῖ, it appears that we have to do with an individual who has been exposed to contamination, and not with the general prescription relating to childbirth.

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June 4, 1934

BOOK REVIEWS

Vitruvius on Architecture. Edited and translated by FRANK GRANGER. 2 vols. Vol. I (Books i-v), 1931. Pp. xxxvi+317. Vol. II (Books vi-x), 1934. ("Loeb Classical Library Series.") London: Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Pp. xlvii+384.

In the present volumes we find a departure from the procedure usually followed by the translators in the "Loeb Series," namely, to take the latest critical text as the starting-point. Professor Granger has stepped outside his field and has attempted to provide a new critical edition—with unhappy results. He conceived the extraordinary notion that Harleianus 2767 (H), our oldest and best MS, was written at Jarrow, by Italian scribes, in the eighth century and had some connection with the famous codex Amiatinus. Rose, the first critical editor of Vitruvius (1867), asserted that the MS was German, written "Caroli aeuo"; in his second edition (1899) he revised his opinion as to the date, assigning it to the second half of the ninth century. Leslie Webber Jones (*Speculum*, VII [1932], 64-70) presented plausible arguments that the MS is a product of the *scriptorium* of Cologne. He suggested as a date *ca.* 850-63. Certainly the MS can scarcely have been written before the middle of the century.

The manuscript problem of Vitruvius has awaited solution for a long time, successive attempts tending rather to confuse than to clarify the question. Rose in his first edition recognized two families: one represented by H and its descendants, the other by two Wolfenbüttel MSS, of the tenth and eleventh centuries (EG). In his second edition he added a tenth-century MS of Selestadt (S), but made little use of it since he regarded it as a copy of H. Degering (*Berliner philol. Woch.*, XX [1900], 8-16) declared that S represents a third copy of the archetype. Krohn in his edition (1912) used the four MSS HSGE; he grouped S with H, without defining the relationship. Degering later (*ibid.*, XXXV [1915], 418-20) called attention to two among the Regimenses in the Vatican which he asserted represented two additional classes. Professor Granger's solution is simple: H is the sole witness for the text; it is a faithful copy of the Italian original; the other MSS are copies of H; "G is merely a recension of H carried out in the presumed interest of Latin style"—or (*Class. Rev.*, XLVI [1932], 59) G is a copy of S, which in turn is a copy of H.

In point of fact, H is not a copy of an Italian original. Rose in the Preface to his second edition (p. iv n.) gave a list (incomplete) of letter confusions, especially of *n*, *p*, and *r*, which, occurring in all our MSS, indicate the existence

of an Insular MS somewhere in the line of descent before the immediate archetype of the surviving MSS. His evidence is strengthened by errors in the MSS which were caused by mistaken Insular abbreviations; e.g., at 69.15 (Rose) *ut for autem*, which is found in all the MSS, was caused by the Anglo-Saxon abbreviation for *autem* (*al̃*); at 157.10 G actually has *oportereāt* for *oportere autem*. Further, G cannot be a copy of H or of S, for HS have about two hundred errors not found in G, a fifth being errors of omission, of which some are to be explained as cases of haplography. G has several errors caused by the confusion of *n*, *p*, and *r*, which point to an Insular original for the family represented by GE. G has also the Insular symbol for *autem* (*h* with a hook on the shoulder); the scribe was obviously not familiar with the symbol since he wrote *k* instead four times out of seven. This symbol does not occur in H or S. G shows other rare Insular abbreviations which are not found in HS: these could not have originated with an eleventh-century scribe; they must have been transcribed from the (Insular) original. E likewise has individual errors indicative of an Insular archetype for this branch of the tradition.

The palaeographical evidence therefore supports the philological. As far as our present knowledge goes there are two families of MSS, and the readings of GE must be considered as well as those of HS (S has been corrected from a MS of the G family).

Besides disregarding the evidence of one branch of the MSS, Professor Granger has rejected much of the work of the editors; of Krohn's text he says (*op. cit.*, p. 58), "In the light of a minute collation of the Harleian MS 2767 I found that of some hundred and fifty emendations in the first five books I could admit only eight into the text." To what lengths the blind devotion to H has led our editor may be seen in the following passages from Book vi:

- PRAEF. 4 *sine litteraturae encycloque doctrinarum omnium disciplina*; the editors read correctly *litteratura*; the final *e* is the result of dittography.
- PRAEF. 5 *ceteri architecti rogant et ambigunt* (for *ambiunt* of G and the editors); the error is phonetic; *ambiuntur* occurs a few lines below.
- PRAEF. 7 *opinans in munus omnibus gentibus non ingraturum futurum*; Rose reads *id* for *in*, Krohn omits *in*; the error is probably due to dittography.
- 1.1 *in inclinatione signiferi circuli et solis cursu*, another case of dittography; G and the editors omit *in*; the translation given is "through the inclination," etc.
- 1.2 *temperari* (= HG) is translated "are to be adjusted"!
- 1.3 *quaque proxime currendo deflagrant* (*deflagrat* G edd.) *eripit exurendo* is rendered "where he (i.e., the sun) comes near and the earth scorches, he burns out," etc., instead of "where its path is very close at hand it parches them up" (Morgan); the subject of the gerund and the verb should be the same, as in the main clause; *deflagro* as a transitive verb is cited by the *Thesaurus* from Cicero and Vitruvius (our passage).
- 1.3 *non exauritur a coloribus* (*caloribus* G edd.); Vitruvius is talking about heat and moisture.

- 1.10 *uero* is translated "it is in the true mean that"; the editors read *ueros* with *finēs*.
- 1.11 *ita diuina mens ciuitatem populi Romani egregiam temperatamque regionem conlocauit*; the editors read *egregia temperataque regione*, which is the case construction that one expects.
- 2.2 *quem ad modum in cenis pictis uidentur*; *cenis* is translated "dining-rooms," a meaning which is found once in the elder Pliny; G and the editors read *sc(a)enis*, which is certainly correct (cf. a similar passage in vii, praef. 11); Vitruvius always uses *triclinium* for "dining-room."
- 2.5 *cum* (=G) is omitted in the text but is found necessary in the translation.
- 3.9 *inponendae sunt minores quarta parte columna*, but the plural "columns" stands in the translation; S has *columnae*.
- 3.10 *uti de tectis per spatia fenestrarum uiridia prospiciantur*, "so that the guests under cover may have a view of the garden"; the editors emend to *de lectis*, "from their couches"; we may take it for granted that the diners would be under cover in the *triclinium*; *tectae* in Vitruvius is plural, "roofs," "shelters," a meaning which is impossible here; the parallel from Cicero cited in a note here is not apt.
- 4.1 *nunc explicabimus quibus proprietatibus genera aedificiorum ad usum et caeli regiones apte debeant expectare. Hiberna triclinia et balnearia uti occidentem hibernum spectent*; the editors read *spectare* (=G); the translation given is "may look out"; Vitruvius uses *exspecto* three times with the usual meaning and *specto* frequently for "look out"; for *uti* the editors read *ad*, which is a normal usage with *orientem*; *uti*, especially in this position, is unexpected with an independent subjunctive.
- 4.2 *ea quod* instead of *eo quod* (=G and the editors), meaning "because," is hard to defend.
- 5.2 *ad conuentos excipiundos*, "to accommodate their audiences" would be difficult to parallel in Latin literature; Vitruvius uses the ablative *conuentu* once; similarly at viii. 3. 22 the reading *sensos* (=HG) is kept, though Vitruvius elsewhere has *sensus* (seven times) and at x. 3. 9 *motos* (G has *motus*) for *motus*, though Vitruvius has only *motus* elsewhere (five times); the confusion of the endings *os* and *us* is so common that such forms should rather be attributed to the scribe than to the author.

In only one of the passages is there a note in the critical apparatus; the reader is left quite in the dark as to the readings of G and the emendations of the editors.

One cannot safely use the text without constant checking with Rose or Krohn. In his belief that H reproduces the vernacular idiom and that G is a purist recension, Professor Granger has practically adopted the rule except for the most obvious errors, that whatever is abnormal in H is good, and whatever is normal in G is bad. Some of the usages attributed to Vitruvius would almost mark him as illiterate. We certainly are justified in assuming that the dis-

tinguished architect was familiar with the ordinary meanings of common words, that he knew the declensions, and that he would observe the simple rules of syntax.

It is unfortunate that so much of Professor Granger's work on the MSS was misdirected. The translation itself is, on the whole, excellent and reflects the special knowledge of the architect. The Introduction likewise makes interesting reading. The Bibliography has important gaps and some of it is out of date; its deficiencies are not to be excused by the statement that "much that has been written on Vitruvius may safely be neglected." Both volumes are provided with plates, seven in the first and twelve in the second, some of which are accompanied by notes. A useful Index of technical terms is followed by a Geographical and Historical Index.

CHARLES H. BEESON

The Economy of Actors in Plautus. By CARRIE MAY KURRELMMEYER. Graz, Austria: Deutsche Vereins-Druckerei A.G., 1932. Pp. 98+5.

This dissertation from Johns Hopkins University, printed in Austria, deals with the distribution of rôles in the comedies of Plautus. In my opinion the chief value of such a discussion lies in the check provided against wild theories of contamination or any other views that are based on structural features of the plays. Unquestionably the comedies reveal structural peculiarities arising from divisions of rôles among a small cast of actors. On the other hand, any complete account of the actual distribution for all the plays is impracticable because of the variable factors. In a relatively few cases we may be positive; in most cases we may only suggest alternatives or reach negative conclusions.

The fundamental problem is the question whether vacant stages mark substantial pauses in the action. This problem the author never frankly faces; she assumes pauses in some cases, denies them in others, and accommodates the length of a pause to the needs of her own theory of distribution. Such loose handling of a fundamental matter vitiates many of her conclusions. Until this question is settled, no real progress can be made.

In respect to the other uncertain factors, such as split rôles, mute rôles, use of supernumeraries, harmony of rôles, burden of rôles, she commits herself definitely to a rejection of harmony of rôles as an element in the discussion; perhaps rightly, and certainly it should be used only as cumulative evidence. Split rôles she limits mainly to the twin plays *Amph.* and *Men.* Mute rôles she uses somewhat loosely, and she is rather indifferent to the amount of labor imposed upon an individual actor.

Her main interest is in a study of early exits followed by inconsequential monologues or, less often, late entrances preceded by unimportant monologues. In this peculiarity of technique lies the best opportunity for discovering the distribution of rôles, as others before Miss Kurrelmeyer had noted. But such technique should be only a starting-point, and conclusions from it

must be supported if possible by positive as well as negative evidence. So, for example, the combination of Sceledrus and Pleusicles (p. 25) is easily confirmed by positive evidence elsewhere in *MG*. In fact, the distribution in this play is more nearly certain than in any other for all the rôles. The author makes plausible suggestions in several other cases; she seldom recognizes alternative possibilities, and her capricious handling of the vacant stage confuses the whole problem.

Errors in detail may be noted. It is not true that Scapha in *Most.* leaves the stage without any hint of her departure (pp. 20-21); verse 294 is addressed to her (*abi tu hinc intro*, etc.) and provides her exit. The combinations of rôles in *Epid.* demand more careful study of the structure that centers on 306-19 and 383-94. The entrance of Phanostrata in *Cist.* iv. i is wrongly indicated in the diagram and in discussions; she enters probably at 653, certainly before 655, and without a substantial pause before verse 653. Miss Kurrelmeyer's combinations are more difficult than she realizes (pp. 31-32, 36). In *Merc.* iv. iv Dorippa is said to leave stage at 770, leaving thirty-two verses before 803 during which the actor assumes the costume of Eutychus (p. 31); but how can that be, since Dorippa speaks verses 784-87? Megadorus in *Aul.* is certainly not an *adulescens* (p. 31). Why is the early exit of the cook in *Pseud.* 891 not used to prove combination of his rôle with that of Pseudolus? In *Rud.* iii. vi. the exit of Trachalio at 859 followed by the entrance of Charmides at 868 points to the combination of these two rôles which I have recently suggested on other grounds (*TAPA*, LXIII [1932], 121 ff.), but Miss Kurrelmeyer divides these parts between two actors (p. 79).

Two chapters of the thesis are devoted to interesting if hazardous conjectures regarding the larger issues of the problem. Important dramatic action which from a modern standpoint we should expect to take place on stage is either omitted or narrated as off-stage action. Miss Kurrelmeyer explains such apparent shortcomings ingeniously in several cases. So, if Philolaches and Theopropides were played by the same actor in *Most.*, the appearance of Callidamates to cut the knot at the end of the play, instead of Philolaches, is inevitable.

HENRY W. PRESCOTT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, Vol. XI. American Academy in Rome, 1933. Pp. 132. Pls. 20.

The eleventh volume of this series maintains the high standard of its predecessors. In successive volumes the faculty and students of the school in Rome have added materially to our knowledge of Roman antiquity.

In Volume IX (1931), for example, we have the excellent article by F. W. Shipley on the "Chronology of the Building Operations in Rome from the Death of Caesar to the Death of Augustus," which serves as a supplement to

the Platner-Ashby *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (1929); two articles by Henry A. Sanders on "Two Fragmentary Birth Certificates from the Michigan Collection" and "Some Papyrus Fragments from the Michigan Collection," respectively; and articles on "The Ancient Roman Theatre at Dugga" and "The Roman Library at Timgad," by Homer F. Pfeiffer. Volume X (1932) contains discussions of "The So-called First Triumvirate," by Henry A. Sanders; "A New Interpretation of 'Jupiter Elicius,'" by Marion A. Rubins; "Roman Bath at Leptis Magna," by George Fraser and A. W. Van Buren; "The Terme Nuove at Ostia," by B. Kenneth Johnson; and "The Augustan Pomerium," by James H. Oliver. The articles are carefully documented, well written, and in most cases illustrated by figures and plates. The series is now indispensable for all libraries and specialists interested in Roman topography, history, or religion.

In the volume before us, XI (1933), we find contributions from Kenneth Scott, "The Political Propaganda of 44-30 B.C."; H. Comfort, "Terra Sigillata in the Princeton Collection"; A. W. Van Buren and G. P. Stevens, "Antiquities of the Janiculum"; Marbury B. Ogle, "The Sleep of Death"; Henry D. Mirick, "The Large Baths at Hadrian's Villa"; and Walter L. Reichardt, "The Vestibule Group at Hadrian's Villa."

Scott's article deals chiefly with the political propaganda in the period from the death of Julius Caesar to the suicide of Antony fourteen years later. It throws a strong light on the history of the period and brings out clearly the importance of Antony's writings as a source for both political and literary history. Apparently Octavian kept all the letters which he received from Antony, and the collection was probably published. We know at any rate that the letters were not officially suppressed, and we may assume that many copies were in circulation. Tacitus knew them (*Ann.* iv. 34), and Suetonius certainly used them (*Aug.* ii. 3; iv. 2; vii. 1; xvi. 2; xxviii. 1, etc.). Both Octavian and Antony had their propagandists. Among the writers for Antony are mentioned (p. 48) Julius Saturninus, Aquilius Niger, Cassius Parmensis, and Asinius Pollio; while on Octavian's side were Cicero (in the period before Mutina), Messalla, Calvisius, Plancus, Titius, and the poets Horace and Propertius. In his discussion of Antony's will Scott points out certain weaknesses in Rostovtzeff's theory (*Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 1926, pp. 29 and 494, n. 24) that the alleged will was really forged by Octavian. Scott does not take the position that Octavian would not have stooped to forgery if he had thought it expedient, but maintains that the evidence of our sources is against Rostovtzeff's theory. Octavian was not in the least squeamish. His morals, as Tarn says (*Jour. Rom. Stud.*, XXI [1931], 197), were "no better than Antony's," but he was more politic. Scott sums up as follows:

In the whole period from 44 to 30 B.C. we find both Octavian and Antony making every effort in the struggle for power. Public opinion had to be won, and every sort of intrigue was to be used if there was any chance of success. Spies, bribery,

scurrility, personal attacks, foreign and domestic alliance, the dissemination of handbills in the enemy's camp, promising rewards or defaming the foe, the falsification or suppression of reports from the front, all bulk large in the politics of the civil war that consumed the republic and created the empire, phoenix-like, from the ashes. The manner in which nations were roused to war and the methods by which they prosecuted it in the first century before Christ differed very little from those of the twentieth century of our era.

Comfort's discussion deals with the dimensions, provenance, and decoration of the collection of *terra sigillata* (seven sherds) in the Princeton University Museum. There are reproductions of all in Figures 1-19 and in Plate I. The article by Van Buren and Stevens is really a continuation of other articles that have appeared in previous volumes of the *Memoirs* (I [1917], 59-61, Pl. 15, and VI [1927], 137-46, Pl. 52) and in the *Bull. Com.*, LV (1928), 245-51 with plate. The former articles were written on the occasion of the discovery of remains of ancient Roman aqueducts and other structures on the property of the American Academy on the Janiculum. The present contribution deals with similar discoveries on adjoining properties.

Ogle's discussion of "The Sleep of Death" is of unusual interest. He points out that while this metaphor appears in Homer (*Il.* xi. 241; xiv. 482-83; *Od.* xiii. 79-80), it seems to have been little used by Greek poets from Homer to the Alexandrian period. He is inclined to think that the comparatively few references in pre-Hellenistic Greek literature and in Roman literature of the Republic indicate that the conception of death as a sleep is not a popular idea but rather a literary convention. This is supported by the absence of such figurative use from Greek and Roman sepulchral poems, except those that are metrical in form and reminiscent of the literary epigram or of Homer. Moreover, none of the metrical inscriptions is earlier than the Graeco-Roman period. It is Ogle's belief that it was the influence of the Hebrew conception of death as a sleep that led to this metaphorical use of words for sleep by the early Fathers, both Greek and Latin (p. 95). He concludes that it was through Greek and Latin translations of Hebrew writings that the Hebrew metaphor of the sleep of death came to the Greeks and Romans (p. 104). The author's conclusions seem well based. The article is accompanied by an elaborate Index of ancient sources, profane, Jewish, and Christian.

Of the two articles on Hadrian's Villa, the first, by Mirick, describes the excavation of the large or so-called Men's Baths at Hadrian's Villa. Permission to excavate was given to the Academy by the director of the Villa, who agreed to share the expense. Mirick furnishes a much more definite plan of the Baths than has hitherto been available (Pls. 4-12). In the last article of the volume Reichardt discusses the so-called "Vestibule Group" of the Villa (Pls. 13-20).

GORDON J. LAING

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
July 5, 1934

Staaten, Völker, Männer aus der Geschichte des Altertums. By ERNST KORNEMANN. ("Das Erbe der Alten," ed. OTTO IMMISCH, Zweite Reihe, Heft XXIV.) Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1934. Pp. viii+158. Unbound, M. 6; bound, M. 7.

This little volume contains six lectures, each followed by a few pages of bibliographical notes. The first lecture deals with the ancient state in general on lines familiar to those who have read Kornemann's other works. In the second, the author traces the unification of Attica step by step, taking as his starting-point recent studies of Attic cults. Next comes a valuable analysis of Macedonian character and standards in the days of Philip and Alexander based on a reconstruction of the history of Ptolemy—the only life of Alexander written from the Macedonian point of view—on which the author has been engaged for years. This is followed by an analysis of the character of Tiberius and this, in turn, by an account of Roman client states, a subject which the author announces will be given special attention by the students of ancient history at Breslau. The last lecture, which deals with the defeat of Varus, emphasizes the importance of the battle and is given a highly patriotic color. Its chief contribution to scholarship is a penetrating topographical study.

It will be impossible to discuss the lectures in detail. In general, it can be said that, like all of Kornemann's work, they are stimulating and full of valuable ideas. It is decidedly worth while to get the author's general interpretation of the ancient state compressed into one brief lecture. Otherwise I feel that the most important contributions are made in the lectures dealing with Greek and Macedonian history. Of course, no subject is more important than the client states, but the lecture devoted to them entitled "Die unsichtbaren Grenzen des römischen Kaiserreichs" is too brief to do much more than state the problem.

Readers will find the evidence on the reaction of the author to present conditions in Germany as interesting as his treatment of ancient history. Many have long desired to know how German university men actually felt about recent developments in their country. Here we get an answer at least for one distinguished scholar. His reference on pages 20-21 to the difficult position of Germany after the war is not so important and is no more bitter than one would expect, though Americans may resent the fact that his wrath is directed particularly against President Wilson and makes no allowance for Wilson's idealism. More important are some briefer incidental references. After the tendency of the Macedonians to evaluate a man for his own accomplishments and not for his birth has been noted, comes the statement: "Der Gedanke der eigenen Leistung, den auch wir im nationalen Staate Hitlers Gott sei Dank wieder betonen, tritt hier deutlich zutage" (p. 68). Naturally the lecture on Varus and Arminius supplies a good deal of material. In his choice of the subject the author states that he was influenced in part by

"die heutige Stunde unseres nationalen Erwachens, die uns ein Zurückgehen auf die grosse erste Zeit unserer germanischen Ahnen zur Pflicht macht" (p. 122). In connection with the topographical investigations we read: "Unaufhörlich arbeitet . . . die deutsche Wissenschaft daran, den heiligen Fleck Erde im Gelände wiederzufinden, wo die erste germanische Befreiungstat auf deutschem Boden erfolgt ist" (p. 141). At the end of the lecture, after referring to the rarity of *wirkliche Realpolitiker* in Germany, the author remarks: "Möchte das doch endlich in unserem neuen nationalen Staat dank der Genialität Adolf Hitlers anders werden! Darauf ruht die Hoffnung aller deutschen Männer und Frauen von heute und von morgen" (p. 143). A wealth of other recent studies of the problem cited in the notes indicates that many scholars share the general point of view of Kornemann.

All of this is in no sense meant as a disparagement of Kornemann's work. References to current conditions and problems are natural in lectures. The point of view revealed in these references may influence his judgment at times, as it has influenced his choice of subject in at least one case. But Kornemann is too able and candid a scholar to allow it to impair his investigations seriously. It is a truism that every piece of historical literature not only contains information concerning the subject discussed but also throws light on the point of view of the author and his milieu, and further that the point of view not only of ancient writers but of modern scholars always should be taken into consideration. By his frank statements Kornemann has rendered the task relatively easy in his own case.

JAKOB A. O. LARSEN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Studies on Scipio Africanus. By RICHARD MANSFIELD HAYWOOD.

("Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science," Ser. LI, No. 1.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1933. Pp. 114. \$1.00.

The subjects discussed by Mr. Haywood are the Scipio legend, the policies of Scipio, and the political controversies connected with his career. Military history as such is not taken up except for the story of the capture of New Carthage, which is essential for an understanding of the Scipio legend. In the treatment of the latter subject, Polybius is taken as a starting-point and a distinction is made between the elements of the legend that existed at his time and later accretions, such as the story that Scipio was the son of Jove and the report of his regular visits to the temple of Jove. This analysis prepares the way for an investigation of Polybius' theory that Scipio for the sake of effect posed as divinely inspired, and this in turn leads to the conclusion that "there simply is no evidence that Scipio pretended to be divinely inspired in order to increase his power over his soldiers" (p. 42). The author, on the other hand,

refuses to accept the modern theory that Scipio was a religious mystic. The discussion of the politics of the period largely takes the form of a protest against the excessive emphasis placed by Münzer and others on family ties and controversies. Haywood himself, after checking over the available commanders, concludes that when Scipio was selected for the command in Spain there was no better man to be found, and that his appointment was a non-partisan appointment. In this case Scipio "was the instrument of the Senate." On the other hand, "the Scipio who procured himself the command in Africa was a man fully conscious of his own powers and self-confident enough to use every legal means to support his own judgment against that of the Senate" (p. 55). Yet the opposition against him in this period was not as strong as it frequently has been supposed. In the succeeding period of eastern wars Scipio is held to be a philhellene, and it is concluded that he and his associates were largely responsible for the Second Macedonian War and for the eastern policy of Rome from 198 to 187. The last chapter deals with the later attacks on the Scipios but is too complicated to be summarized here. In general, no summary can do justice to the acute and detailed arguments of the work.

It might seem that to begin one's scholarly career by adding to the rapidly growing number of Scipio studies is bold and dangerous, but Mr. Haywood has justified the venture completely, and his work deservedly has been received well. Naturally many points will be questioned. Personally I find the treatment of the Scipio legend as a whole convincing. In the case of the politics of the time, I am not certain that every individual taken up is handled correctly, but am in sympathy with the general approach. When the author comes to the eastern policy of Rome some points seem to be handled too superficially, but, considering the difficulty of the problem, this is not surprising.

JAKOB A. O. LARSEN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Agrippa's Building Activities in Rome. By FREDERICK W. SHIPLEY. ("Washington University Studies [N.S.], Language and Literature," No. 4.) St. Louis, 1933. Pp. 97. \$1.25.

In this monograph Professor Shipley continues the studies which he began in the ninth volume of the "Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome." The article in the "Memoirs" contained, besides a chronological summary for the whole period from the death of Caesar to that of Augustus, an account of the building activities of the Triumphales, except Augustus. The monograph before us deals with the building operations of Agrippa. The author states (p. 3): "With the single exception of Augustus himself, Agrippa is more entitled to the credit of changing the Rome of the Republic into the imperial city than is any Roman of the period."

Professor Shipley divides Agrippa's activities in building into four groups: I, General Public Works; II, Buildings in the Campus Martius in Region IX; III, Public Works in Region VII; and IV, Miscellaneous Works in Regions VIII and XI. There are also an Introduction (with a table of the chronological data furnished by ancient sources about Agrippa's building operations), an Appendix, giving the text of the longer passages from Greek and Latin authors, maps and plans, and an Index.

The author has done a good and useful piece of work. While he makes full acknowledgment to Lanciani, Hülsen, Platner, and Ashby, he does not hesitate to dissent from their views in regard to the identification and reconstruction of ancient monuments. With boldness, although with caution, he offers suggestions of his own. For example, he is inclined to doubt Hülsen's theory (*Bull. Com.*, 1893, p. 137; Jordan-Hülsen, *Top.*, I³, 562; Platner-Ashby, *Top. Dict.*, p. 151) that the Diribitorium was built on top of the Saepta Iulia, and raises the possibility of its having been in the area west of a line drawn from the Pantheon to the Theater of Balbus, which, as he points out (p. 43), is still a *terra incognita* to archaeologists and topographers. This would conform to Boëthius' theory as expressed in his review (*Athenaeum*, 1932, pp. 117-21) of Lundström's work. Shipley even enters into the controversy about the Pantheon and reviews the whole question from the discoveries of Chedanne in 1892 down to our own time. He indicates (p. 60) that originally it was a structure of very different character from the present. The result of his survey seems to be that no part of the present Pantheon can be assigned to Agrippa. He explains the familiar inscription on the frieze of the pronaos (*M. Agrippa, L.f., cos. tertium fecit*) in the light of Hadrian's well-known policy of not putting his own name on a building which he either built or restored. He discusses fully the site of the Baths of Agrippa. His suggestion (pp. 74-77) that the references in Martial to Europa are better explained on the assumption of a sculptured group of Europa in the Campus Agrippae than of a painting in the Porticus Vipsania (as Becker and Hülsen) deserves the attention of all commentators of Martial.

Clearly Agrippa was a man who preferred to be remembered by works rather than by words. He was devoted to Augustus and to Rome. He despised the hollow honor of a triumph, so greedily accepted by lesser men. He accepted the office of aedile after he had been praetor and consul, for he saw in it an opportunity of public service. He did not disdain to devote his energies to such utilitarian works as sewers and aqueducts, but was active in the construction or restoration of these as well as of more monumental buildings. Never before have we had so detailed and convincing an account of his building activities as Professor Shipley has given us. *De M. Agrippa bene Shipileius meritis est.*

GORDON J. LAING

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
July 14, 1934

Tiberio, successore di Augusto. By EMANUELE CIACERI. Milano-Genova-Roma-Napoli: Società Anonima Editrice Dante Alighieri (Albrighi, Segati e C), 1934. Pp. xi+335. L. 30.

This book is by the author of *Storia della Magna Grecia* (3 vols.) and of *Cicerone e i suoi tempi* (2 vols.) and is a scholarly presentation of the character and achievements of Tiberius.

In addition to Preface, Appendix, and Index of Proper Names, it consists of ten chapters: (i) "La costituzione di Augusto. Repubblica e principato"; (ii) "Il problema della successione. Tiberio successore di Augusto"; (iii) "Tiberio e l'antica tradizione letteraria. Tacito"; (iv) "Tiberio. Sua indole e suo carattere"; (v) "Tiberio sotto Augusto. Guerra e diplomazia"; (vi) "La politica estera dell'imperatore Tiberio. Germanico, Druso, e l'indirizzo conservativo"; (vii) "La pubblica amministrazione. La capitale, l'Italia, e le provincie"; (viii) "La politica interna di Tiberio. La nobiltà e il Senato. L'opposizione, Agrippina e Seiano"; (ix) "Tiberio a Capri. Agrippina e suoi figli. La conspirazione di Seiano e la reazione"; (x) "Gli ultimi anni. Il testamento e la morte."

After a brief review of the history of the controversy in regard to the character of Tiberius the author definitely takes the side of those who refuse to accept Tacitus' delineation and who see in Tiberius a man of outstanding qualities and unusual accomplishment. He had, in Ciaceri's opinion, "grandi qualità di carattere" and "una grande personalità storica." Moreover, from the point of view of world-history, he must be credited with the unique merit of having really initiated universal peace: "suo merito singolare fu d'aver realmente iniziata la benefica era della Pax Romana." Perhaps the author is a little too enthusiastic for Tiberius. Yet he does admit that he had faults: "aveva però Tiberio di sua natura disposizioni di carattere che se non erano grandi difetti, considerati in se, tali potevano sembrare nella vita pubblica e specialmente in un uomo di governo" (p. 118). He ridicules the idea of a turning-point in the development of Tiberius' character (pp. 97 ff.).

Ciaceri presents his case carefully and soberly. He has subjected both ancient sources and modern opinions to a searching analysis, and after reading the book one knows not only all the permutations and combinations of the protracted controversy on the subject but also the author's reasons for the belief in Tiberius which he so frankly and in so interesting a manner sets forth. The volume is a contribution to the history of the Julio-Claudian period.

In the Appendix, Ciaceri, while agreeing with some of the points in Papini's article, "Il Cesare della crocifissione" in *Nuova antologia*, LXIX (1934), 40 ff., dissents from his theory that Tiberius was disposed to recognize officially the divinity of Christ and to forbid persecution of his followers.

GORDON J. LAING

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
July 6, 1934

Zur Geschichte des "Cursus Publicus": Inaugural-Dissertation. Von ERIK J. HOLMBERG. Uppsala: A. B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1933. Pp. 158.

In successive chapters this dissertation deals with the ancient postal system before Roman times, its development by the Romans before the reign of Diocletian, its organization under the later Empire, its officials, its letter- and dispatch-carriers, and its history during the later Empire. There is also a useful table of imperial laws from 283 to 468 A.D.

The author has not attempted an exhaustive treatment of all the phases of the Roman postal system but offers a critical study of the many points in which previous workers in the field have differed or have suggested explanations that seem to him to be wrong. He concentrates on the period after Diocletian, not only because the nature of the source material enables him to give a clearer and more detailed picture, but also because it was the reorganization which took place at that time that resulted in the system which is called the *cursus publicus*.

He draws attention to the fact that the term *cursus publicus* includes more than the postal system. It covers both the carriage of official letters and dispatches (*cursus velox*) and the transportation of state goods (*cursus clabularius*). For the former horses and mules were used; for the latter, oxen. The one was for swift carriage, the other for slower transportation. The *cursus clabularius* carried war material for the soldiers, packages of parchment and papyrus for the officials, and material of any kind that was destined for state use. Moreover, the *cursus clabularius* was not confined to the transport of materials. It was sometimes employed to carry contingents of troops and on occasion also served to move the families of state officials who were being transferred to some other post in the Empire, though the officials themselves would travel by the *cursus velox*. This division of the *cursus publicus* into *cursus velox* and *cursus clabularius* is, in the opinion of Dr. Holmberg, probably to be assigned to Diocletian. At any rate it was well established by the early years of the fourth century for there is an ordinance of 315 A.D. (*C. Th.* viii. 5. 1) which obviously refers to the *cursus clabularius*, although it does not specifically mention it.

It will be observed that the references above are to the transportation of state officials and state property. When a Roman of the later Empire traveled as a private citizen he had to hire his own carriage and draft animals. Only an official with his properly accredited *evectio* (i.e., permission to requisition state carriages and animals) could use the public service. But the abuse of the *evectio* was an old problem in Rome. Cato in one of his speeches (*Or.*, frag. ii, p. 37 [Jordan]) says: "Numquam ego evectionem datavi, quo amici mei per symbolos pecunias magnas acciperent."

The author has some interesting comments on the *frumentarii* and especially on the *agentes in rebus* (pp. 104 ff.). Originally the *frumentarii*, as their

name implies, were connected with the grain supply for the army and the cities. In the second century of the Empire they became part of the imperial spy system. Some element of concealment was necessary and so they were used as carriers of imperial letters and reports. They disappeared in Diocletian's time. It was probably the same emperor who substituted for them the *agentes in rebus*. Here Holmberg's view coincides with that of Hirschfeld (*Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, 1893, p. 42 = *Kl. Schr.*, pp. 624 f.) and apparently with that of Seeck (*RE*, I, 776), although the latter is somewhat hesitant. Hudemann (*Geschichte des röm. Postwesens*, p. 83) assigns their connection with the postal system to Constantine but furnishes no proof. Like the *frumentarii*, the *agentes in rebus* formed an important part of the imperial secret police. They were practically abolished by Julian but were restored to their former privileges and importance by subsequent emperors who seemed unable to dispense with their services.

These and other questions are handled carefully and the whole work, especially in the third, fourth, and fifth chapters, makes a distinct contribution to our knowledge of the subject.

GORDON J. LAING

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
July 17, 1934

The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt. By EDWARD ROCHIE HARDY, JR. ("Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law," edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University. No. 354.) New York: Columbia University Press; London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 1931. Pp. 162.

This small volume is a dissertation prepared by Dr. Hardy under the direction of Professor William L. Westermann. The author has collected, particularly from the papyri, a wealth of evidence on the growth and administration of the large private estates of Byzantine Egypt. The work is descriptive, but contains, chiefly in the notes, helpful suggestions for the dating and interpretation of texts. After a brief introductory chapter sketching the background of the period, Dr. Hardy outlines the history of the Apions, from whose vast estates the bulk of the material is drawn, and mentions briefly other proprietors of the time. The body of the book is devoted to discussion of the internal administration of the estates and the rôle which they played in the daily life of Byzantine Egypt.

The author rightly attributes the amazing growth of the estates to the "twin institutions of the colonate and patronage." He finds that by the sixth century the owners had assumed, through necessity or ambition, functions which were in theory the prerogatives of the central government. Their private soldiers and prisons, their varied relations with village and church are

fully treated, while financial organization, taxation, and countless minor details of administration fall into their relative positions, as the author skilfully constructs as complete a picture as possible of life on such an estate. The chapter on feudalism and serfdom is important. While admitting many similarities between Byzantine Egypt and medieval Europe, Dr. Hardy is careful to point out the real differences.

It is difficult to do justice to the patience, industry, and good sense which have gone into this study. The documentation is exhaustive, while an Index in three parts gives ample evidence of careful planning and scholarly accuracy. The usefulness of the work is further enhanced by a map giving the locations of all the estates known to us. In addition an appropriate frontispiece contributes for the reader's pleasure and instruction a photograph of the consular diptych of Apion II, one of a long line of landed proprietors in Byzantine Egypt.

Unfortunately, the volume is marred by an abnormally large number of typographical errors. The accentuation of Greek words seems to have suffered most. This, however, is a minor blemish which might have been eliminated by more careful proofreading, and does not detract from the scientific value of the dissertation as the first circumstantial account of the large estates of Byzantine Egypt.

MALCOLM F. MCGREGOR

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BREVIORA

[The managing editor establishes this subdepartment because of the difficulty of procuring substantial critical reviews of all books, and the impossibility if they were found of printing them in our limited space. It is believed that brief but fair *comptes rendus* will prove more useful than a mere biographical notice. Contributions to this department should never exceed a page, and a paragraph is preferable.]

Columbia Papyri: Tax Lists and Transportation Receipts from Theadelphia. ("Greek Series," II.) Edited with introductions and notes by WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN and CLINTON WALKER KEYES. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. Pp. xi+219. 2 facsimiles.

Professor Westermann and Professor Keyes have here produced a volume that deserves high commendation. The general Introduction provides a series of diagrams which show at a glance the chronological relations of the papyri and their contents. The special introductions are in themselves important contributions to papyrological literature and are of great value for a better understanding of the economic conditions of Roman Egypt. In addition to illuminating tables and, where possible, partial or complete translations,

there is the usual commentary on the text. Two facsimiles conveniently placed to facilitate comparison with the printed text give some idea of the difficulties encountered in deciphering. The book is equipped with complete indexes, but these unfortunately are not on the same high level as the introductions.

The documents included in the volume are P. Columbia 1, recto 1a-b, financial reports of the collectors of money taxes (*praktōres argyrikon*) of the district of Theadelphia, A.D. 134-35; recto 2, annual statement of receipts of poll tax (*laographia*) and distributed taxes (*merismoi*) from the government bank at Theadelphia, A.D. 128-29; recto 3, statement from the government bank at Theadelphia of receipts of poll tax and *merismoi* during the first accounting period of the year, A.D. 135-45(?); recto 4, receipts for payments by the state bank for services of transport men and guards, February 23-March 1, A.D. 155; recto 5, list of donkey drivers and number of donkeys used in the transport of state grain, A.D. 136-50; recto 6, *sitologus* record of payments of a tax in kind, under Hadrian or Antoninus.

In connection with recto 2 the question of double dating with *evr* and *μeτ* is discussed at length. Though the editors have endeavored to give an explanation of this system, I am inclined to believe that the real meaning of the terms has not yet been ascertained. Professor Johnson has recently proposed an ingenious, but not more satisfactory, solution in the *American Historical Review* (October, 1932, pp. 90 f.).

VERNE B. SCHUMAN

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Aspects of Social Behavior in Ancient Rome. By TENNEY FRANK. ("Martin Classical Lectures," Vol. II.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1932. Pp. x+155. \$2.00.

This is the second volume of the series containing the lectures given at Oberlin College on the Martin Foundation. The subjects treated are: (i) "The Roman Family"; (ii) "Social Factors in Religious Changes"; (iii) "Farmers or Peasants"; (iv) "Rome's Experiments in Social Reform"; and (v) "Society and Law in Early Rome."

The different lectures are original and suggestive. Professor Frank is one of the pioneers in the new classics, and his comments on earlier workers and obsolete standards are interesting and stimulating. Something of an archaeologist himself, he makes free and ingenious use of the evidence of the excavations and ranks with Rostovtzeff in his analysis and reconstruction of ancient Roman society. Among other things he points out the difference between the enactment and the enforcement of laws, and the futility of interpreting the institutions of the fifth century B.C. in Rome—already an old culture—on the analogy of the customs of primitive peoples furnished by the students of comparative religion or other forms of culture.

Here and there a reader may dissent from the views expressed. For example, one may be inclined to doubt the statement on page 53: "All these attractive mystery cults of the East, though they spread widely and at times numbered among their devotees hundreds of thousands, won few converts in the West." Doubtless a majority of their worshipers in the West were immigrants from the East, but it is at least probable that native western converts were more than a few. Frank himself, in his article on "Race Mixture in the Roman Empire" (*American Historical Review*, XXI [1916], 706), in the light of Toutain's researches, admits conversion of native Westerners to the cult of the Magna Mater. And some of the other eastern religions had equal, if not greater, attractiveness and influence. Nor is Toutain or anyone else deceived any longer by the *tria nomina*.

GORDON J. LAING

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July 7, 1934

Ancient Oil Mills and Presses. By A. G. DRACHMANN. ("Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Archaeologisk-Kunsthistoriske Meddelelser," I, 1.) København: Levin & Munksgaard, 1932. Pp. 181. Figs. 41.

This is a study of ancient descriptions of oil mills and presses and of the explanations offered by writers in modern times. The author has not founded his researches on Blümner or on Brønsted, Hörle, or Beck. He has studied Hero's *Mechanics* also. Moreover, he has included the Herculaniensians and La Vega as sources of information about the excavations at Stabiae and the discovery of the first trapetes. In his study he has made the interesting discovery that these writers of the latter half of the eighteenth century were better informed than most of the later writers. For example, the lever and screw press with stone weight, which Blümner and Brønsted fail to understand, was still being used when Meister and La Vega lived, and so they understand quite well what Pliny meant.

The book proper is divided into two parts: (I) "The Trapete" (olive crusher), and (II) "The Torcular" (oil press). For it will be remembered that the olives must first be crushed and then pressed before they will yield their oil. Under I the author discusses Cato's trapete as compared with exstant examples (i.e., those at Naples, Pompeii, Casa di Miri, and Malta), and adds many details about it. Under II he describes the development of the oil press according to Pliny, analyzes various reconstructions and suggests one of his own, and then goes on to discuss the *regulae* and *galeagra* (containers of thin boards for the crushed olives), Hero's presses, the olive press in archaeological findings, and Cato's press house. Among other things he points out that with some adjustment the oil press could be used also as a wine press (pp. 50, 108, 109). There is an Appendix by the distinguished director of the Swedish

Archaeological Institute in Rome, Dr. Axel Boëthius, on the art of pressing, and another by Dr. Drachmann himself on Pliny xviii. 317 and the date of the screw press. The numerous illustrations (among them a photograph of the Rondanini relief [p. 144]) clarify the descriptions and reconstructions, and the whole work is done with the thoroughness and competence that its many difficulties demand.

GORDON J. LAING

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
July 10, 1934

De Priapo. Scripsit HANS HERTER. ("Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten," Band XXIII). Giessen: Töpelmann, 1932. Pp. 334; pls. 3. M. 17.50.

The remarkable series of which Mr. Herter's book forms the twenty-second volume stands very high in the opinion of students of ancient religion because of the soundness and reliability of the monographs which it comprises. Not many equal the present work in bulk, and still fewer aim at such encyclopedic thoroughness; for it is no exaggeration to say that the book is a *repertorium* of everything that pertains to its subject.

Its very completeness makes a searching review impossible here. The casual inquirer will find the essence of the work in the admirable introductory essay on the history of the cult of Priapus, in which the author traces the spread of the worship of the Lampsacene god of fertility to Greece, to Alexandria, and to Rome. He sets forth the reasons for the migration of the cult, showing how the deity displaced native godlings of similar character, how he was associated with the cults of Dionysus and Aphrodite, and how, as in Egypt, he was identified with local figures of like character. This part of the Introduction is more fully developed and documented in chapter viii, on the relations between Priapus and other divinities. The archaeological history of Priapus, from the harmless frankness of the rudely hewn rustic statues to the elaborate obscenity of later representations, is summed up in the Introduction, and the material is fully listed in chapters iv and v. The *testimonia* of ancient writers are carefully edited in pages 35-38. Other chapters deal exhaustively with the home of the deity, his name, the myths concerning him and works of art which reflect them, the powers and functions of the god, and the evidence for his worship, with details as to shrines, rites, and localities of the cult. There is a brief excursus on the part played by Priapus in Petronius' work, a useful Bibliography, and trustworthy indexes.

The plan of the book leads to some repetition of evidence, and it may be doubted whether minute treatment of certain points has repaid the labor expended. But it is a sober, conscientious study which may well be definitive except for the occasional discovery of new archaeological material.

CAMPBELL BONNER

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

M. Tulli Ciceronis pro M. Caelio oratio. Edited by ROLAND G. AUSTIN.
Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933. Pp. xix+131. \$1.25.

A good English edition of *Pro Caelio*, one of the cleverest and most readable of Cicero's speeches, has long been a desideratum. The present work, which is actually the first separate English edition of the oration, satisfies this need most adequately.

The Introduction on the life of Caelius treats that subject with reasonable fulness. The manuscript tradition is handled briefly but adequately for an edition of this sort. For the text of the oration the plates of A. C. Clark's Oxford text have been used without change. The commentary is thorough and conservative, and well adapted to the advanced students for whom the edition is apparently intended. The more difficult passages are translated, unusual grammatical constructions are explained, the trend of the orator's argument and the subtleties of his technique are frequently pointed out. The usefulness of the commentary to the student would be increased by more attention to the *clausulae* and the rhetorical figures. A topical analysis of the oration would have been helpful, although summaries are interspersed in the commentary.

Several appendixes treat the date of Caelius' birth (Pliny's 82 B.C. is successfully defended), the place of Caelius' birth (*Interamnia* in the *ager Praetutianus* is accepted), the relations between Caelius and Catullus, the date of the delivery of the speech (April 4, 56 B.C.), the charges of the prosecutors, etc. The editor accepts Hough's conclusion (*AJP*, LI, 135 ff.) that Caelius was tried under the *Lex Plotia de vi*.

A Bibliography and good indexes add to the value of this excellent edition, which the reviewer hopes will encourage more college teachers to read *Pro Caelio* with their classes.

HARRY J. LEON

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

The Romanization of Africa Proconsularis. By T. R. S. BROUGHTON.
Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press; London: Humphrey Milford,
Oxford University Press. Pp. viii+233. \$2.25.

This book, according to its prefatory statement (p. vii), differs from the numerous other works on the same subject in attempting "to define the municipal institutions of the Roman province in relation to their indigenous background." But much less prominence is given to the indigenous background than one would expect. The account is for the most part factual, sketching the Roman régime in Africa from the destruction of Carthage to the time of the Severi. The author's conclusion is that "the Romans adapted themselves to Africa; they gave her peace and made her prosperous, but they never made her Roman."

From the account given by Mr. Broughton and others one cannot resist the

conclusion that after the conquest the Romans never fully realized the possibilities of Africa. In the days of the Republic they were convinced of the necessity of destroying the Carthaginian power, but after their fear was gone there was a lack of a persistently aggressive policy of provincial expansion. To be sure it may have been only after careful deliberation and from a conviction that no other course would yield satisfactory results that they adopted the doctrine of *laissez faire* that manifests itself in various phases of the administration of the province. But it is more probable that they merely blundered into this method as the least expensive, the least troublesome, and so the most convenient form of government.

GORDON J. LAING

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

July 14, 1934

Il tribunato della plebe. By GIOVANNI NICCOLINI. Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1932. Pp. ix+203. L. 25.

This attractive little book surveys the whole history of the tribunate of the people from its origin to its disappearance under the Empire. Footnotes cite source material and a considerable number of modern works but cannot claim to serve as a guide to all important literature on the subject. The only index is an Index of Sources. The reader will find several interesting views and interpretations. It is maintained that one cause of the growth of the power of the tribunes was the fact that the senate used them against the consuls (p. 67). The fact that *leges annales* were frequently disregarded is explained as a result of the sovereignty of the people: "Il popolo, naturalmente, non ha bisogno dell'autorizzazione di alcuno per *solvere legibus se stesse*" (p. 77). In a work as comprehensive as the present the reader naturally will find several conclusions that do not win his approval, and he will feel at times that important points are treated too briefly but he will not regret the time spent in reading it.

JAKOB A. O. LARSEN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

INDEX TO VOLUME XXIX

- A Bibliographical Guide to Latium and Southern Etruria*, Van Buren **279**
- A Bibliography of Vergil*, Peeters **170**
- A Chrestomathy of Vulgar Latin*, Muller and Taylor **79**
- A Companion to the Study of Pompeii and Herculaneum*, Van Buren **279**
- ad capiendum cibum*, Pliny x. 96. 9, meaning of **299**
- Aeschylus on the source of the Danube **337**
- Aesop*, of Rinuccio, Greek source of **53**
- ἀγαθός* in Homer **201**
- Agrippa's Building Activities in Rome*, Shipley **356**
- Agrippina, marriage of, with Claudius **143**
- Ancient Oil Mills and Presses*, Drachmann **363**
- An Economic Survey of Rome*, Vol. I: *Rome and Italy of the Republic*, Frank **265**
- annona*, meaning of **108**
- ante lucem* service in early church **296**
- Antigonus Gonatas, personal appearance of **254**
- A Papyrus Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas*, Bonner **266**
- appeal, unsuccessful, penalty for **130**
- Appian, *B.C.* ii. 3, discussed **251**
- Apuleius, introduction of characters by name in **36**; formulaic type of introduction in **45**
- arbitrators, at Athens **127**
- Archippus, Frag. 6 D, discussed **338**
- Areus **119**
- Aristobulus, honorary inscription for **149**
- aristocracy, substitution of, for monarchy **307**
- Aristonicus and Stratoniceia **252**
- Aristophanes *Birds* 347-48, discussed **340**
- Aristotle, "*The Metaphysics*," Books I-IX, trans. Tredennick **84**
- Asconius, Introduction to Cicero's *Pro Milone*, p. 29, discussed **251**
- Aspects of Social Behavior in Ancient Rome*, Frank **362**
- assemblies, provincial, position of, in late Roman Empire **209**
- Athenaeus: The Deipnosophists*, trans. Gulick, Vol. V **184**
- Athenian citizenship law **123**
- Athenian Tribal Cycles in the Hellenistic Age*, Ferguson **152**
- Attic Vase Painting*, Seltman **172**
- Aus Roms Zeitwende: Von Wesen und Wirken des Augusteischen Geistes*, Immisch, Kolbe, Schadowaldt, Heiss **270**
- βασιλεὺς*, use of, in Homer **306, 312**
- bow of Odysseus **343**
- Callias, *πεδῆται* of **341**
- canon frumentarius* **110**
- Catullus xlv. 21, discussed **255**
- characters, introduction of, in Apuleius **36**
- church, early, service of **293**
- Cicero *Philippics* ii. 91, discussed **344**; *Pro Caelio* 55, discussed **141**
- CIG* 3831a², discussed **149**; 3086, discussed **149**
- CIL*, IX, 338, discussed **145**; V, 5855 and 5688, discussed **146**
- citizenship law at Athens **123**
- classes and masses in Homer **192, 301**
- classical mythology in *Paradise Lost* **147**
- Claudius, marriage of, with Agrippina **143**
- codices librariorum* **251**
- cognomina*, Greek, in Italy **145**
- Collections de céramique grecque en Italie*, Philippart **274**

- Columbia Papyri: Tax Lists and Transportation Receipts from Theadelphia*, ed. Westermann and Keyes **361**
- Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, Buck **261**
- Constitution of the Peloponnesian League **1**; method of amending **10**
- Coreyraeans, in Peloponnesian War **4**
- Corolla archaeologica principi hereditario regni Sueciae Gustavo Adolpho dedicata* **272**
- Corpus vasorum antiquorum*. U.S.A. Fasc. 2, Luce; Fasc. 3, Van Ingen **278**
- couch, as unit of measurement **30**
- council in Homer, descriptions of **305**
- curiales* in provincial assemblies **214**
- Danube, Herodotus on source of **328**
- decatalogue = sacramentum **294**
- Demophilos, decree of **123**
- δῆμος*, use of, in Homer **309**
- De Priapo*, Herter **364**
- Der Peripatetiker Ariston von Keos bei Philodem*, Knögel **86**
- De saeculi quarti exeuntis historiarum scriptoribus quaestiones*, Hartke **173**
- diapspheisis* **123**
- Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und die romanhafte Literatur der Antike*, Söder **78**
- Die Ueberlieferung der Scholien zu Apollonios von Rhodos*, Wendel **275**
- Die Verseinlagen im Petron*, Stubbe **158**
- Diller, on the decree of Demophilos **123**
- Dio Cassius, *Epit.* of lxxvii. 19, 3-4, discussed **66**
- Dio Chrysostom and Juventius Celsus **66**
- Diogenes Laertius ii. 18, discussed **341**
- Early Civilization in Thessaly*, Hansen **82**
- Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, Band II, Heft 1: *Griechisches und römisches Privatleben*, Pernice; Heft 2, *Münzkunde*, Regling; Heft 3, *Griechische und römische Kunst*, Rumpf **276**
- enslavement for unsuccessful appeal **130**
- ἐφευς ἐκ τῶν δημοτῶν*, trial of **128**
- epithet, formulaic character of, in Homer **197**
- Eridanus, in the Greek logographers **330**; in Herodotus **331**
- Ernst Grumach: Physis und Agathon in der alten Stoa* **180**
- Este, Venetic inscriptions from **281**
- ethos* in *Paradise Lost* **147**
- Eustathius, fragments of Strabo in **63**
- Euxitheos, case of **124**
- evidence, admission of, in cases before arbitrator **128**
- Excavations at Minturnae*, Vol. II, Part I, Johnson **168**
- Exits and Entrances in Roman Comedy (Plautus and Terence)*, Johnston **161**
- fabula*, compared with *historia* **52**
- fas*, use of, in Lucan, *Pharsalia* iii. 329 **320**
- food supply of Rome **103**
- Geld und Wirtschaft im Römischen Reich des vierten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, Mickwitz **259**
- γεωγράφος* in Eustathius **63**
- graffiti* **281**
- grain, annual consumption of, at Rome **105**
- γραφὴ ξενίας* at Athens **123, 128**
- Greek romances, introduction of characters in **51**
- Grundbegriffe der stoischen Ethik*, Rieth **182**
- "Harvard Studies in Classical Philology," Vol. XLIV **160**
- Hecataeus, debt of Herodotus to **329**; on the source of the Danube **332**; *ἦς περίοδος* of **334**
- Hellenism, relation of, to Judaism **117**
- Herodotus, on the source of the Danube **328**
- Hesperia: Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Vols. I and II, Nos. 1-4, **267**
- Homer, classes and masses in **192, 301**; *Od.* xxi. 395, discussed **343**

- honorati* in provincial assemblies **214**
Honorius, edict of **213**
Hxeres **68**
IG, III, 119, discussed **150**
Il tribunato della plebe, Niccolini **366**
inscriptions from Este **281**
insular tradition in ancient scholia of Juvenal **240**
ψ, meaning of **343**
Ister, Herodotus iv. 49 and ii. 33 **328**
Italy, significance of Greek *cognomina* in **145**
Judaea and Sparta **117**
Juvenal, insular tradition in ancient scholia of **240**
Juventius Celsus and Dio Chrysostom **66**
καὶός, meaning of, in Homer **203, 301**;
antithesis of, with *ισθλός* **302**
Karanis: The Temples, Coin Hoards, Botanical and Zoological Reports, Seasons 1924-1931, ed. Boak **278**
King Agis of Sparta and His Campaign in Arcadia in 418 B.C., Woodhouse **173**
Kings in Homer **304 ff.**
κλίση, as word of measurement **30**
La formation des noms en grec ancien, Chantraine **166**
Latinitas Christianorum primaeva: Studia ad sermonem Latinum Christianum pertinentia edenda curat Jos. Schrijnen. Fasciculus quartus. Le psaume abécédaire de Saint Augustin et la poésie Latine rythmique, Vroom **180**
League, Peloponnesian, constitution of **1**; admission of new members into **14**; assembly of **15**
lex sacra Cyrenaica **345**
Lexicon Plautinum, Vol. II, Fasc. X, Lodge **275**
Lucan, *Pharsalia*, notes on **317**
Lucian, introduction of characters in **46**
Lucretius i. 70, discussed **256**
Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum, ed. Bell, Nock, Thompson **155**
Maiuri, *Nuova silloge*, No. 448, discussed **151**
masses and classes in Homer **192, 301**
Maximus Planudes' text of *Somnium Scipionis* **20**
measurement, couch as unit of **30**
medius, use of, in Lucan **317**
Melanchthon, marginalia attributed to **341**
Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, Vol. XI **351**
Minoan and Nisaea **89**
Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Giessener Universitätsbibliothek. III. Griechische Privatbriefe, Büttner **178**
Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien: Griechische literarische Papyri I, Gersinger, Oellacher, Vogel **176**
modii, annual consumption of, in Rome **105**
monarchy and aristocracy in Homer **306**
M. Tulli Ciceronis ad Atticum epistularum libri sedecim. Fasciculus tertius libros ix-xii continens, ed. Sjögren **88**
M. Tulli Ciceronis pro M. Caelio oratio, ed. Austin **365**
mythology, classical, in *Paradise Lost* **147**
negative and text criticism **141, 143**
πλοῖ, clubs of **149**
Nisaea and Minoan **89**
nobility, evidence for, in Homer **195, 308**
Nonnos of Panopolis, date of **69**
Odysseus' bow and the Scolytidae **343**
Onias **119**
Ostraca Osloensia: Greek Ostraca in Norwegian Collections, ed. Amundsen **177**

- Papyri Iandanae: cum discipulis edidit Carolus Kalbfleisch*, Fasc. 5 **167**
- Paradise Lost*, classical mythology in **147**
- Peloponnesian League, constitution of **1**
penalty for unsuccessful appeal **130**
φιλοπονία, contest in **151**
- Phrynichus, Frag. 20 K, discussed **339**
- Pindar, on the source of the Danube **337**
- Planudes' text of *Somnium Scipionis* **20**
- Plato, *Laws* 917 B, discussed **67**
- Pliny and the early church service **293**
population of Rome **101**
- Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy*, additions to Venetic inscriptions in **281**
- provincial assemblies, position of, in late Roman Empire **209**; compulsory attendance at **211**; membership of **213**; compared with assemblies of Greek federal leagues **216**
- Rhine and Rhone, Herodotus' belief in **331**
- Rinuccio, Greek source of *Aesop* of **53**
- Roman Empire, position of provincial assemblies in **209**
- Rome, population of **101**
- sacramentum*, Pliny x. 96. 9, meaning of **293**
- scholia, of Juvenal, insular tradition in **240**
- Scolytidae, Odysseus' bow and **343**
- Scopas and Simonides **230**
- serutinies in Athenian demes **123**
- Seneca *De ira* iii. 22. 4-23. 1, discussed **254**
- services, number of, in early Christian church **296**
- Sex. Propertii Elegiarum Libri IV*, ed. Hosius **88**
- Sextus Empiricus, trans. Bury **183**
- Shorey, Paul, *In memoriam* **185**; the teacher **189**
- Sidelights on Greek History: Three Lectures on the Light Thrown by Greek Inscriptions on the Life and Thought of the Ancient World*, Tod **174**
- Simonides and Scopas **230**
society in Homer **195**
- Sokrates, Norvin **86**
- Somnium Scipionis* Maximus Planudes' text of **20**
- Sparta, place of, in Peloponnesian League **1**; and Judaea **117**
- Staaten, Völker, Männer aus der Geschichte des Altertums*, Kornemann **354**
- Strabo, fragments of geography of **63**
Stratoniceia and Aristoniceus **252**
- Studies on Scipio Africanus*, Haywood **355**
- suspense in Apuleius **42**
- "Symbolae Osloenses," Fascs. IX-XII **273**
- σμμαχία*, as term for Peloponnesian League **6**
- Ten Commandments in Pliny **294**
text criticism and the negative **141, 143**
- The Augustan Principate in Theory and Practice during the Julio-Claudian Period*, Hammond **163**
- The Discovery of the Ancient World*, Burton **175**
- The Economy of Actors in Plautus*, Kurlmeyer **350**
- The Enigmas of Symphosius*, Ohl **279**
- The Geography of Strabo*, trans. Jones **182**
- The Greek Language*, Atkinson **87**
- The Heroic Age of Science*, Heidel **257**
- The Humanistic Value of Archaeology*, Carpenter **277**
- The Jealousy of the Gods and Criminal Law at Athens: A Contribution to the Sociology of Moral Indignation*, Ranulf **183**
- The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt*, Hardy **360**
- Thelyphron, narrative of, in Apuleius **47**
- The Miniatures of the Manuscripts of Terence Prior to the Thirteenth Century: The Text*, ed. Jones and Morey **74**

- Theodosian Code, provincial assemblies in **209**
- The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.*, Gomme **165**
- The Romanization of Africa Proconsularis*, Broughton **365**
- Thersites, significance of the episode **305**
- The Script of Cologne from Hildebald to Hermann*, Jones **75**
- The Sounds of Latin*, Kent **264**
- Tiberio, successore di Augusto*, Ciaceri **358**
- T. Macci Plauti Pseudolus*, ed. Sturtevant, Brown, Schaefer, Showerman **275**
- Trade and Politics in Ancient Greece*, Hasebroek, trans. Fraser and Macgregor **175, 280**
- Trajan, letter of Pliny to **293**
- Untersuchungen zu Catulls dichterischer Form*, Schnelle **274**
- Varro, *De gente populi Romani*, discussed **221**
- Velleius Paterculus, *De Pritzwald* **280**
- Venetian inscriptions from Este **281**
- Virgil the Necromancer—Studies in Virgilian Legends*, Spargo **271**
- Virgilio minore: Saggio sullo svolgimento della poesia Virgiliana*, Rosagni **88**
- Virgils Bukolika: Untersuchungen zum Formproblem*, Pfeiffer **171**
- Vitruvius on Architecture*, ed. and trans. Granger **347**
- Von Kallimachos zu Nonnos: Metrisch-Stilistische Untersuchungen*, Wifstrand **181**
- Vox Graeca. Das Zeitalter des Hellenismus: Griechisches Lesebuch, Band I: Der hellenistische Mensch*, Herzog, Dietrich, Listmann **178**
- Wörterbuch der Antike, mit Berücksichtigung ihres Fortwirkens*, Bux, Schöne, Lamer **87**
- Ziegler, text of *Somnium Scipionis* **20**
- Zu Xenophons "Hipparchikos," Ekman **177**
- Zur Geschichte des "Cursus Publicus," Holmberg **359**
- Zwei religiös-politische Begriffe Euergetes-Concordia, Skard **179**